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VOL. I, NO. 1.

JANUARY 8, 1917.

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of Mexico in 1828.

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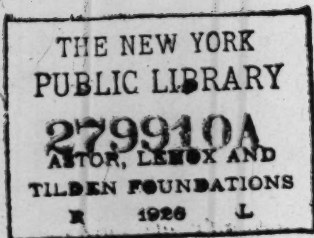
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INTRODUCTION

The Louisiana Historical Society, with its career of eighty years behind it, may scarcely need introduction to the students of American History, as the work that it has already done through its notable men has left an impress upon the history of our State and all of the Louisiana Purchase Territory that could hardly have been secured in any other way.

Louisiana has a history of which we may well be proud. With the closing years of its first century of Statehood we may be pardoned for a short retrospective view of that century of our State's life and for the expression of some hopes of what the second century may bring to us. That part of our history with which we are most familiar, by legend, by song and story, relates to this first century of our Statehood and our Historical Society, which was organized in 1836 with Judge Henry A. Bullard as its first president. Its membership includes Messrs. Harrison and Louis Janin, Messrs. Porter, Martin, Roman, Canonge, Barton, Gray, Chaffe, Eustis, McCaleb, Ingalls, Winthrop, Rost, Watts, Deblieux and Leonard. Judge Bullard was a native of Massachusetts, born in 1788 and graduated from Harvard College with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1807 at the age of nineteen. Soon thereafter he migrated to Louisiana and began the practice of law in Natchitoches. He represented Louisiana in Congress in 1831 and 1832, at which time Andre Bienvenu Roman was Governor of this State, his successor in 1835 being Edward White of Bayou Lafourche, father of Chief Justice E. D. White of the U. S. Supreme Court. Judge Bullard was appointed District Judge after his Congressional term and also served as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court for twelve years. He served for a short time as Secretary of State and in 1847 was elected professor of civil law in the Law Department of the University of Louisiana. He attained a

high position in Louisiana and died in 1851 after the death of Seargent S. Prentiss in 1850, who probably was the most brilliant lawyer that at that time practiced at the New Orleans bar. Judge Bullard was chosen to deliver the bar's eulogy to Mr. Prentiss' memory.

At that time, in 1836, with a large French and Spanish population and a rapidly increasing American population, before the date of railways and early in the day of steamboating, New Orleans was looked upon as the coming great city of the Mississippi Valley and as such it rapidly progressed until the civil war began. That first sixty years of the 19th Century we may call the Romantic Epoch of Louisiana's American history and naturally those who came here from other parts of the Federal Union and from other countries, were much interested in the cosmopolitan civilization here developed and engaged in recalling its origins and in recording its peculiarities. Judge Bullard was conspicuous in these matters and was quick to appreciate the distinctions between the every day life of Puritan New England and the languorous lives of the people of Louisiana, the land of the orange and the palm.

In June 1846 Francois Xavier Martin, the distinguished jurist and historian of Louisiana, was elected president of the Historical Society, but he died in December of that year. Of Judge Martin's History of Louisiana, first published in 1827 and republished in 1882, we need say but little. His history is a standard work today and while not as brilliant in its rhetoric or descriptions as the later history of our State written by Charles Gayarre, it will always be consulted by students of Louisiana history.

Judge Martin was a Frenchman by birth and was born in Marseilles in 1762. He migrated to the French island of Martinique in 1780 and six years thereafter to New Bern, North Carolina, then a French Swiss settlement. At the age of 27 years he was admitted to the bar of North Carolina and began his literary career by compiling and translating valuable law books. He then wrote a history of North Carolina and in 1806 and 1807 served as a member of the State legislature. In 1809 President Madison appointed him Judge for the territory of Mississippi and the following year he was transferred to the Superior City Court of the territory of Orleans. Here his ability was at once recognized and he was rapidly promoted to the offices of Attorney General, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court and finally he became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Some time thereafter Judge Martin returned to private life and while made president of the Louisiana Historical Society in June, 1846, his death occurring in December of the same year, he had but little oppor-

tunity to utilize his clear and logical mind in the development of the Society.

Judge Bullard was again elected president of the Historical Society in 1847, and died in New Orleans in 1851.

Judge Charles Gayarre, our distinguished historian of Louisiana, was elected president of the Society in 1860. He had already published three volumes of the History in 1854, the first two covering the French Domination in Louisiana and the third covering the Spanish Domination. In 1866 he published his final volume, on the American Domination. The volume on the Spanish Domination he dedicated to our great national historian, George Bancroft, who was then one of the nation's most distinguished men, although his great history of the United States in ten volumes, begun in 1834, was not completed until 1874. Judge Gayarre wrote of Bancroft as "the friend who encouraged his labors and the historian whose fame is the pride of his country."

Charles Gayarre was born in New Orleans in 1805 and became conspicuous in law matters when he was but twenty years of age. In 1828 or 1829 he was admitted to the Pennsylvania bar and soon thereafter returned to Louisiana and was admitted to the Louisiana bar. In 1830 he was elected to the State legislature from the city of New Orleans. In 1832 he was appointed presiding judge of the City Court of New Orleans. In 1835 he was elected to the United States Senate. His health failing, he resigned from this high office and went to Europe, where he remained eight years. Returning to New Orleans he became again engaged in political life and in 1844 was elected to the State legislature and was re-elected two years later, but did not serve the second term, but accepted the office of Secretary of State in preference. He was quite a voluminous writer and his literary work was held in the highest esteem.

The civil war of practically fifteen years' duration in New Orleans, left the Society dormant. In 1877 the domicile of the Society was changed from Baton Rouge, to New Orleans. In 1888 Judge W. W. Howe was elected president of the Society. Judge Howe was a gentleman of rare ability and greatly interested in the history of Louisiana. It was largely through his influence and appreciation of Martin's History of Louisiana that its republication was secured in 1882.

Professor Alcee Fortier of Tulane University, was elected president in 1894. His recent and unexpected death came as a shock to his many friends and admirers. He was one of Louisiana's most successful writers and his writings, generally historical, covered a wide range of investigation and research, such as but few men are

capable of. His monumental work is his History of Louisiana, in four volumes, covering the period of known data from A. D. 1512 to 1904. It is now our standard history and reflects great credit on Dr. Fortier and on our Society, which he served so long and so well.

Hon. Gasper Cusachs, now our president, succeeded Dr. Fortier in January, 1914, since which time he has been annually re-elected. Mr. Cusachs is the head of one of our most prominent families of the old regime. The French, the Spanish and the American dominations all merge in him. He has a splendid private collection of rare books, papers and pictures pertaining to ancient Louisiana and to modern Louisiana, some of which are now deposited with the Society for the benefit of its members and the public. He is an enthusiastic student of Louisiana history and quite an encyclopaedia of information concerning old families, old events and old things, and is constant, earnest and enthusiastic in his support of the Historical Society.

Under these conditions, these leaderships and these experiences, the Louisiana Historical Society now announces the publication quarterly of a magazine wherein will be given from time to time data secured from the Society's archives and such other material as may come under its control and be pertinent to the Society's objects. The Society's executive committee, under whose control the publication begins, solicits the co-operation of every member in making the publication the success that it deserves to be.



The Western Boundary of Louisiana.

By Gaspar Cusachs

The western boundary of Louisiana, being as it was the line which separated the recently acquired territory from the lands of Texas, then a Mexican province, was a source of much trouble to the government of the United States a century ago. And while the United States endeavored to establish it at the Rio Grande, the Mexican authorities were equally firm in the contention that it extend as far eastward as the Sabine. An expedition to survey this line was undertaken by the latter, and the report of the journey, and conclusions, as prepared by the Monk Jose Maria Puelles, an apostolico of the Convent at Zazatecas, forms one of the most interesting and valuable contributions to the literature dealing with the question. The report was published at Zacatecas in 1828, and has become so very scarce that only two copies now can be traced, one of which is now in my private collection, having been obtained in London several years ago. In consideration of its great rarity, and value as a contribution to the early history of our State, it has been deemed worthy of being translated—the original being in Spanish—and printed at the present time. The title page is reproduced exact size. The translation was made by Mr. Gilbert Pemberton, to whom I now desire to express my gratitude for his excellent work.

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Dario de Galvez

By Gaspar Cusachs

On October 16, 1780 General Bernardo de Galvez led the Spanish forces against Pensacola. The expedition resulted in the defeat of the English arms which furnishes Louisiana today with her claim of participating in the American Revolution.

Galvez's diary, evidently not intended for general distribution, was printed in Spain soon after his return from America. It contains much that should prove of interest to the historian of the present time, and although quotations have been made from it and used by different writers, yet it has not until the present time been translated and printed in its entirety. The translation presented on the following pages was made from a copy which I purchased in Madrid, and has been carefully prepared by Mr. Gilbert Pemberton. No title page is included with this copy, nor is it known whether one was ever printed. Few copies of this very interesting work are known to exist.

**Abstracts by William Price of State Papers Preserved in the
Louisiana Historical Society with Notes**

By Grace King

In publishing these abstracts of State Papers, the Louisiana Historical Society is carrying out a project cherished for many years, a project, indeed, that became a duty and one heavy with responsibility as gradual investigation revealed the rare historical value and great importance of the documents. The information they contain covers, as will be seen, every form of human interest developing during the long course of years, extending from 1714 to 1769, when French Louisiana was under the judicial government of the Superior Council, whose paternal care seems to have been as varied as the region dependent upon it, the vast region extending from the Northern Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico; from the fringe of British possessions extending eastward to the Atlantic, to the Spanish possession (or claims rather) between the Mississippi and the Pacific.

From the hiring of a servant to the killing of farm animals; the intricate settling of estates, marriage contracts, disputes of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; conspiracies and plots of desertion, and piratical adventures; the documents wind along in and out of the small stream of petty litigation but with their rich minute details of daily life, glittering like gold under the current. They evince an almost total avoidance of the political changes that took place, the crisis great and momentous in their day to the colony, which brutally apprenticed it, as it were, first to one master and then to another, had its capital moved from Fort Louis de la Mobile, to Dauphine Island, thence to Biloxi and finally to its ultimate destiny (as seen from the beginning by its astute Canadian founder Bienville and his followers) to New Orleans, the great city on the banks of the Mississippi River.

The ups and downs in Bienville's own fortunes, are indicated rather than revealed by passing references in the documents.

The massacre of the Natchez and the subsequent war made by the French upon them are not noticed nor missed in the increasing flow of items of more intimate importance, such as the price of flour for 20 sous a pound in 1721-22 and the fact that in 1740 eggs sold for 10 sous an egg and that in 1740 the luxuries of the rich were figured again on invoices; laces, silks, gold watches, fine jackets, gold and silver embroidered on white, yellow, blue and cherry grounds.

The story is a continuous one; a more faithful one could not well be devised. The papers will be published in regular series in the current numbers of the Quarterly.

THE CHOCTAW OF ST. TAMMANY PARISH

By David I. Bushnell, Jr.

The southeastern part of the United States, bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, and extending westward from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, was first traversed by Europeans during the years 1539-1541 when it was crossed by the Spanish expedition of De Soto. At this time much of the area was claimed and occupied by Muskogean tribes who continued to live within their respective territories until early in the nineteenth century. Subsequent to the days of De Soto many of the smaller tribes became more closely allied and formed the Creek Confederacy, whose centers developed in the valleys of the Chattahoochee and the Tallapoosa, within the present State of Alabama. Westward from these were the Choctaw, belonging to the same linguistic family, but possessing different manners and customs. The Choctaw occupied the greater part of the region now embraced within the bounds of the State of Mississippi, and probably touched the shore of Lake Pontchartrain.

The Tangipahoa and Acolapissa had settlements just north of Lake Pontchartrain. The former were probably near the stream of that name which enters the lake some distance west of Mandeville, and according to the Choctaw living nearby the name was derived from two words, *tonche*, "corn," and *pahohā*, "cob" or "inside," and is literally translated by them "corn-cob." The Acolapissa lived on the banks of Pearl River, *Talcatcha*, a few miles above its mouth. The relative connection of the Choctaw, the Tangipahoa, and the Acolapissa, has not been clearly established, although all spoke the same language and probably had similar manners and customs.

When New Orleans was settled, now two centuries ago, the Choctaw were a numerous people, and their name often appears in the annals of the colony. But the Tangipahoa and the Acolapissa soon vanished from history, and it is highly probable the remnants of the settlements were absorbed by their stronger neighbors.

The Indians living on the north side of Lake Pontchartrain in coming to New Orleans, or the country southward, would have crossed the lake, then probably followed some trail leading through the intervening lowland. During the past few years traces of a settle-

ment, with fragmentary pottery mingled with the accumulated soil, and many human remains, have been encountered in a slight ridge near the shore of the lake some twelve miles northeast of the city. This probably marks the landing place on the south shore, where parties coming from the other side would encamp, or those returning would await favorable weather before attempting the crossing. It was not necessarily a permanent village, but a stopping place for those who lived beyond the lake.

At the present time there lived near Bayou Lacomb, some miles north of Lake Pontchartrain, in St. Tammany parish, a small group of Indians known as Choctaw; but whether they are descendants of the Acolapissa, or whether they have descended from an offshoot from the main Choctaw tribe, may never be ascertained. Now, after a lapse of two centuries since the planting of the colony, during the greater part of which time the Indians have been in rather close intercourse with Europeans, it is interesting to know that many of their primitive manners, customs, and beliefs, have persisted,—the more interesting of these are presented in the present paper.¹

Many place-names in St. Tammany, names by which the early French explorers knew the streams and which consequently must date from the days before the coming of Europeans, appear to be of Choctaw origin.

Bayou Castine. This seems to have been derived from the Choctaw *Caste*, or "fleas," so named on account of the great number of fleas found there.

Chinchuba creek. *Chinchuba* being the Choctaw for "alligator."

Chefuncte river. The Choctaw word meaning "chinkapin" (*Castanea pumila*.)

Ponchitoawa creek. The word is translated "singing hair."

Bogue Falaya. Derived from the Choctaw words, *bogu*, "river," and *falaya*, "long."

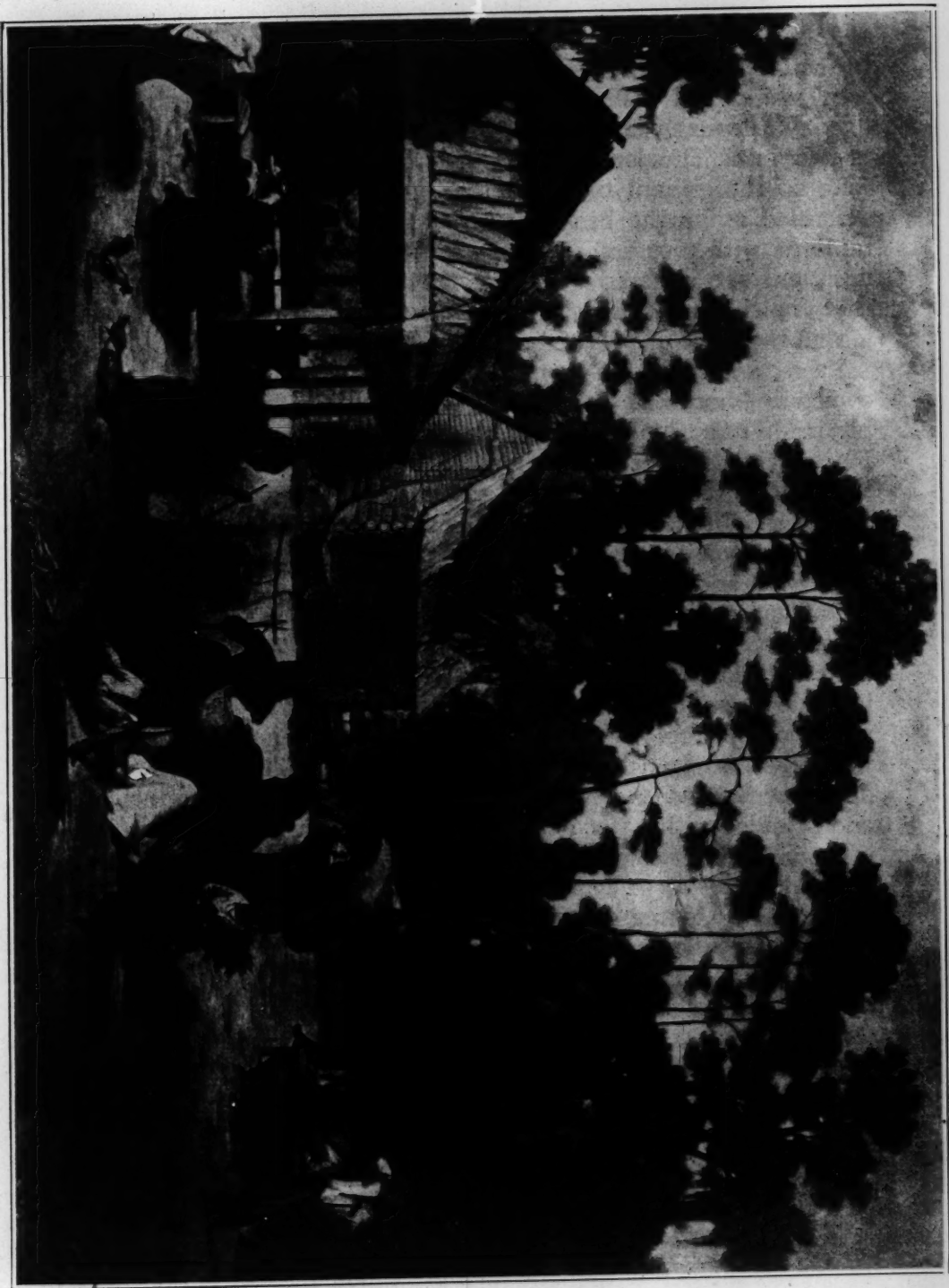
Cane bayou. Called by the Choctaw *chela ha*, "noisy," so named on account of the noise caused by the wind blowing through the canes.

Bayou Lacomb. Designated by the Choctaw *butchu wa*, "squeezing." Their settlement is known by the same name.

Pearl river. Known to the Choctaw at the present time as *Hatcha*. This is clearly an abbreviation of *Talcatcha*, "rock river," of Pénicaut.

Lake Pontchartrain. The Choctaw name for any wide expanse

¹—During the winter of 1908-1909 the writer was in St. Tammany parish and devoted much time to the Choctaw. The information gathered at this time was given in Bulletin 48, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1909, entitled *The Choctaw of Bayou Lacomb, St. Tammany Parish, Louisiana*. Extracts from the Bulletin are included in the present paper.



of water, such as the lake, is Okwá ta, derived from *okwa*, "water," the suffix *ta* signifying "large" or "wide."

Habitations. The primitive habitations of the Choctaw who lived on the north shore of Lake Pontchartrain are said to have been of two forms, circular and rectangular. The former may, in reality, refer to the ancient council house of the community. They are described as having been formed of a frame work made of small saplings, with tops and sides of palmetto thatch. These were, however, long ago replaced by the log cabin, and a structure resembling the primitive habitation though covered with planks and large shingles in the place of palmetto. Examples of these are shown in Plate ..., a reproduction of a painting made by Bernard in 1846 and now owned by Mrs. Chas. T. Yenni of New Orleans. The view was probably made near Bonfouca, near the site of the first chapel reared by Père Adrian Rouquette who lived among the Indians from 1845 until his death in 1887. Bonfouca is some eight miles from Bayou Lacombe.

Food. In olden times, before guns had been substituted for the native weapons, game was abundant and easily taken. Fish and wild fowl, fruits and vegetables, were plentiful. The finding of the bones of the alligator mingled with camp refuse in a domiciliary mound near Chinchuba creek, evidently proves the flesh of the alligator to have been utilized as an article of food. Several vegetables were raised in gardens, among these was a variety of corn which, according to the people of Lacombe, was prepared in this manner: *Tonche* (*Zea mays*), was allowed to ripen and harden on the cob; then it was removed and dried over hot ashes. Next it was placed in a wooden mortar (*kite*), and pounded with a wooden pestle (*ketoke*), after which it was placed in a winnowing basket (*obfko*). The *obfko* being held horizontal and moved rapidly up and down, back and forth, throwing the crushed grain in the air and allowing the lighter particles to be carried off and fall into a large flat basket, (*tapa*), resting on the ground. The grain remaining in the *obfko* was again pounded in the mortar and then passed through a sieve (*ishsho ha*). The fine particles that passed through the sieve were called *botu*; the coarser portion remaining in the sieve being known as *tonlache*. Much of the *botu* was parched and eaten mixed with water; but most of the coarser *tonlache* was boiled either with or without meat. Nothing is more characteristic of the American aborigines than the raising and preparation of corn, and the methods followed by the Choctaw near the shore of Lake Pontchartrain were probably similar to those known to the tribes throughout the valley of the Mississippi.

Haws and berries of many sorts grow in abundance in the vicinity of Bayou Lacombe. Wild crabapples are gathered and dried on a

frame, they appear to be the only fruit that is preserved in any manner and kept for future use.

Dress and Personal Decoration. The men formerly wore their hair of sufficient length to enable them to form it into two braids, one on each side of the head. In front the hair was cut straight across, above the eyebrows. The women allowed their hair to grow long and tied it up in back. Both men and women painted, and blue, red, yellow, and green are remembered to have been used on their faces. According to the old women at Lacombe there were no special designs, and no combination of colors had any meaning. But one favorite design is now recalled, it was a yellow crescent outlined with blue, and was painted on both cheeks. It was used by both men and women and was intended to represent a new moon in the dark blue sky. Tattooing (*hanchahale*) was likewise practiced by both men and women, but to a much less degree than was painting. Lines were tattooed on the cheeks, and in some cases the shoulders were so decorated, but no other part of the body. The method was to puncture the skin with a fine needle, then to rub soot obtained from burning yellow pine over the surface. This was applied several times, or until sufficient quantity had entered the punctures. The soot gave a bluish tinge, this alone was used.

Like many others, the Choctaw are very fond of bright colors. In past days they obtained beads and ribbons from the traders, and from the shops in New Orleans.

Artifacts. Few articles are now made by the Indians, and much of their ancient art has been forgotten. However, they still follow their primitive method of preparing skins, and making dyes for their basket-work. During the past few years they have been utilizing brilliant aniline dyes but at the present time, (March, 1917), on account of the scarcity of these, they are about again to begin the making and using of their native colors. This will add greatly to the beauty and interest of their baskets. Three colors are made by the Choctaw, the same as were known to all the Southern tribes, these are red, yellow, and black, which, together with the natural cane, gives them four colors to combine in their work. Yellow is derived from the root of the *Rumex crispus* L. (yellow dock). It is broken into small pieces and then boiled in water. The material to be colored is placed in this liquid and allowed to boil until the desired tint is obtained. To make a red equal parts of the bark of the red oak, *Quercus texana*, and the black gum, *Nyssa aquatica* L. are burned to a fine ash. Water is added to this to form a thick paste. The material previously dyed yellow, as described above, is then covered with this paste, and within a few hours the strong alkali turns the yellow a

deep red. Although black is not now made at Lacomb it is known to have been made by the "old people," from the bark of a tree that grows farther north,—this is probably the walnut.

Of the many types of baskets made by these people the pack basket, *kishe*, is probably the most interesting. They are usually about twenty inches in height, the bottom is rectangular with the top flaring on two sides. Several examples are shown in Bernard's painting, Plate..... Covered baskets were formerly made, some quite large. The pointed type, *taposhake chufa*; and the elbow shaped, *taposhake shakapa*, are well known forms.

Pottery vessels are no longer made although they are remembered to have been made and used within a generation. Pipes of earthenware were used until quite recently. It is quite evident that fragmentary pottery encountered on several sites in St. Tammany parish was of Choctaw origin.

Spoons are made from cow horns after the fashion of similar ones once made by their ancestors from the horns of buffalo.

Social Culture.

Transportation. Dugouts, hollowed from a single log of black gum, were used on the creeks and bayous. Many of the roads traversing the parish probably follow the courses of ancient Indian trails, and even now a road leading from just west of Chinchuba to the shore of Lake Pontchartrain, is known as the "Indian road." It passes within a few feet of the domiciliary mound already mentioned, and evidently follows the trail that led from the settlement about the mound to the lake shore.

Hunting and Fishing. The blowgun was used until a few years ago in hunting small game, and various birds. The weapon (*kaklu mpa*) was formed of a single piece of cane (*Arundinaria macrosperma*; Choctaw, *uske*); its length was about seven feet, formed by perforating the joints. The darts (*shuma nte*) were made of small canes or pieces of hard yellow pine, having a length of about fifteen to eighteen inches. One end was sharpened, the other was wrapped with a narrow band of cloth having a frayed edge which extended to the rear. Soft, tanned skin was also used for this purpose. The effect of this wrapping was to expand and fill the bore of the gun when the dart was being projected. Bows and arrows were formerly used, but for many generations firearms have been obtained from the French, the Spanish, and in later years from the Americans.

Games and Pastimes. Games of chance appear to have been rather few among the Choctaw, but many were undoubtedly known to the older generations that are now lost and forgotten. It is of

interest, however, to find here a game quite similar to the moccasin game of the Algonquin tribes of the north, and although no longer played it is remembered by the oldest woman at Lacomb who described it thus: "*Lake lomi*. Twelve men were required in playing the game. They knelt or sat on the ground in two rows, or "sides," facing each other, six players in each row. Seven hats were placed on the ground in a line between the two rows of players. The player who was to start the game and who was always at one end of his row held in one hand a small stone or shot. With his other hand he raised all the hats in order, placing under one of these the stone or shot; during the entire performance he sang a particular song. After the stone or shot had been placed, the player sitting opposite him guessed under which hat it lay. If he did not succeed in three guesses, the leader removed the object and again hid it under either the same or another hat. Then the second player on the opposite side had three guesses. If a player guessed under which hat the object was hidden, he in turn became the leader. Unfortunately, those who described the game could not recall how the points were counted. They agree, however, that the side having the greater number of points made by the six players combined, won." Another favorite game was "*Tanje boska*, or corn game." This was played, the writer was informed, with either five or seven kernels of corn blackened on one side. Holding all the grains in one hand, the players tossed them on the ground, each player having three throws. The one making the greater number of points in the aggregate, won. Each 'black' turned up counted one point; all 'white' turned up counted either five or seven points, according to the number of kernels used. Any number of persons could play at the same time, but usually there were only two."

The great ball game of the Choctaw, so often mentioned by the early writers, is known to the people of Lacomb, and a variation of the game is now played by them. At the present time the children know several games played by the whites. Marbles and tag being among them.

Dances. The people to whom this article refers have one dance ceremony which is in reality a series of seven distinct dances, performed in a fixed order. The names of the dances in the order given are: *Nanena hitkla*, Man dance; *Shatene hitkla*, Tick dance; *Kwishco hitkla*, Drunkenman dance; *Tinsanale hitkla*; *Fuchuse hitkla*, Duck dance; *Hitkla Falama*, Dance Go-and-come; *Siente hitkla*, Snake dance. Every dance was accompanied by a particular song or chant. The dances were usually, if not always, performed at night.

Medicinal plants. The Choctaw make use of a large variety of

plants, some of which have medicinal properties, but many being quite valueless. Some are boiled and the extract is drunk, others are prepared as dressings or poultices for wounds.

Marriage ceremony. The native ceremony of the Choctaw, as was followed until a few years ago, was thus described by the women of Lacomb: When a man decided he wanted to marry a certain girl he confided in his nearest female relative, she then talked with the mother or nearest relative of the girl and if they agreed, they in turn visited the two chiefs or heads of their respective *ogla*. As a man could not marry in his own *ogla* the women were often obliged to make long trips before seeing the two chiefs whose villages were frequently far apart. After all had been arranged the man, accompanied by many of his friends, went to the girl's village. As the time for the ceremony drew near the woman with her friends were seen some distance away. The man and his party approached and attempted to catch the girl, then followed sham fighting during which time the girl apparently attempted to escape, but she was caught by the man and his friends and relatives. Then all went to a spot where a feast had been prepared, both parties having contributed. Off to one side four seats had been arranged in a row, the man and girl took the middle seats and on the ends sat the two male heads or chiefs of their respective *ogla*. Certain questions were then asked by the chiefs, and if all answers were satisfactory, the man and girl agreed to live together as man and wife and were permitted to do so. So closed the ceremony after which was feasting and dancing. The man continued to live in his wife's village and their children belonged to her *ogla*.

Religion. As has been mentioned, Pere Rouquette lived among the Choctaw of St. Tammany parish from the year 1845 until his death in 1887, and during this time brought many under the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. But even before the coming of the Father the Indians had probably been influenced by others. It is evident they did not then agree among themselves regarding the future state, and some held to the belief that with death all existence ceased. They seemed to have had a vague idea of a spirit in the body, but when the spirit died, then man, or rather the body, ceased to move. "Others, who are said to have constituted the predominating element in the tribe, had a radically different conception of man's future state. These believed in the existence of two spirits—Aba being the 'good spirit above' and Nanapolo the 'bad spirit.' " They also have remarkable beliefs of ghosts, and spirits encountered on lonely trails. Dreams are explained through the belief that during sleep the

'spirit' leaves the body, and when it returns relates to the individual all that it has seen and done.

Myths and legends. The Choctaw, like all aborigines, possess a vast number of tales, many probably having been told and retold through generations. The majority reflect the natural environment of the people, with many references to the deep, dark waters, the lonely paths through forests, and certain phenomena of the southern country. Fanciful beings are met in many of the myths, one being *Kashehotoapalo*. This, so they say, "is neither man nor beast. His head is small and his face shriveled and evil to look upon; his body is that of a man. His legs and feet are those of a deer, the former being covered with hair and the latter having cloven hoofs. He lives in low, swampy places, away from the habitations of men. When hunters go near his hiding place, he quietly slips up behind them and calls loudly, then turns and runs swiftly away. He never attempts to harm the hunters, but delights in frightening them. The sound uttered by Kashehotoapalo resembles the cry of a woman, and that is the reason for his name (*kasheho*, 'woman;' *tapalo*, 'call.' ")

And this legend is supposed to explain why the 'Possum has a large mouth: "It had been a dry season and there was very little food for Deer, consequently he had become thin and rather weak. One day Deer met 'Possum and exclaimed: 'Why! Possum, how very fat you are. How do you keep so fat when I can not find enough to eat?' And 'Possum answered, 'I live on persimmons, and they are unusually large this year, I have all I want to eat.' 'But how do you get persimmons, which grow so high above the ground?' 'That is very easily done,' replied 'Possum. 'I go to the top of a high hill and, and, running swiftly down, strike a persimmon tree so hard with my head that all the ripe persimmons fall to the ground. Then I sit there and eat and eat until I cannot hold more.' 'Indeed, that is easily done,' answered Deer; 'now watch me.'

So 'Possum waited near the tree while Deer went to the top of a nearby hill. And when Deer reached the top of the hill, he turned and then ran quickly down, striking the tree with so great force that he was killed and all his bones broken. When 'Possum saw what Deer had done, he laughed so hard that he stretched his mouth, which remains large even to this day."

Such are their primitive tales and beliefs.

In presenting these references to the manners and customs of the Choctaw of St. Tammany parish, it is hoped others may become interested in preserving notes on the Indians scattered throughout Louisiana. Small groups and individuals are met with in widely

separated localities. Some may represent the last of a little-known tribe, and may possess knowledge of inestimable value to the historian and ethnologist at the present time. All such information should be carefully gathered and preserved; another generation and little will remain.



REPORT

GIVEN TO

His Excellency, the President of the Mexican Republic
with Regard to the Boundaries of the Province
of Texas with that of Louisiana.

ZACATECAS, 1828.

Press of the Supreme Government
In Charge of
Cavalier Pedro Pina.

INTRODUCTION.

The Commission named by the Supreme Government of the Nation, having already left Mexico to fix the territorial boundaries of our Republic with that of the United States of North America, it will be very useful that we Mexicans should know something of what has occurred in former years with regard to this question. With this end in view, and desiring to make known the labors of a native of Zacatecas, the Reverend Fray Jose Maria Puelles, the actual guardian of the Apostolic College of Guadalupe, to whom the said Supreme Government entrusted the making of a report covering all the information he had acquired during his long stay in those countries as a missionary, which report will undoubtedly prove very useful to the Commissioners, I have resolved to publish same in order to do this service to our country, and also recommend the dilligence of the author, who has deserved the approval of the Government, as will be seen from the following communication:

"Ministry of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs. Section: I have reviewed the report sent by you under date of the 28th of last November, relative to the occidental boundaries of Texas and Louisiana, and His Excellency, the President, has remarked the thoroughness with which you have prepared them and your zeal in behalf of the interests of the Mexican Republic, but as you cite, among other documents, the calendar or commercial almanack written in New Orleans for the year 1807 by Mr. Laffont, his Excellency orders me to request you the loan of said documents which you may send to this office, of which I am in charge, to be returned as soon as it has served its purpose. God & Liberty.

Mexico, the 22nd of December, 1827.

R. ARIZPE.

To Reverend Father Guardian of the Apostolic College of our Lady of Guadalupe of Zacatecas."

The report is as follows:

INFORME

QUE SE DIO AL EXCMO. SR. PRESIDENTE

DE LA

REPUBLICA MEJICANA,

SOBRE LIMITES DE LA PROVINCIA

DE TEJAS.

CON LA DE LA

LOUISIANA.



ZACATECAS: 1828.

*Imprenta del supremo gobierno, á cargo
del c. Pedro Piña.*

REPORT

Upon the Boundaries of the Province of Texas with that of Louisiana.

Excellency:

As a consequence of what I have promised your Excellency, and in order to correspond to the confidence of his Excellency, the President of the Federation, you ask me, under date of the 7th of this month, to obtain all the documents existing in the archives under my charge relating to the occidental boundaries of the province of Louisiana with that of Texas, or New Philippines, and that I consult with regard to this matter with other priests of this College who have travelled in these countries, beg to say: that two priests have investigated these archives without finding anything at all, probably because the documents formerly kept here and in the archives of the Province of Texas, were sent to the Capital City of Mexico or to the offices of the Commandant General of Chihuahua, who at the beginning of this century endeavored to collect from all the archives subject to his inspection all the papers bearing on the said, subject, or possibly prior to this date these documents had been given to other Colleges in order to form a chronicle of them.

I have consulted, as your Excellency charges me, with the Reverend Father Commissary, actual Prefect of Missions, Fray Manuel Gaitan, with the Reverend Father ex-Guardian Fray Bernadino Vallejo, and with the Reverend Father Fray Jose Maria Delgadillo, all of whom resided a great many years on the Texan frontier, near Louisiana, and they know no more than what is currently known by everyone living in those places, and that is that the boundary of Texas begins with the River that flows into the Gulf of Mexico at degrees 39 and a few minutes, the line following up to its head waters; from there to the Arroyo Hondo (Deep Creek) or Mountain River (as it is called by some Frenchmen) which is situated three leagues to the west of Nachitoches at the 23nd degree of latitude and 284th degree and 30 minutes longitude from the Peak of Tenerife. From there the line follows cutting in the center of the lakes that are to the westward and that are formed by the Red River (also known as the Nachitoches, Cadaudachos, or Palisade River) up to the 32nd degree 10 minutes latitude, where the said river crosses

the line and turns diagonally until it flows into the Missouri, which enters the Mississippi at latitude 38 degrees 30 minutes. This is what the Fathers know and what was known by all the old Spanish and French settlers when I was there at the beginning of this century. This knowledge was a tradition which had been handed down to them by their forefathers, and of which in former years the Mexican Government has compiled an act to that effect, sworn to by more than six witnesses of great age, who swore that they had always heard said that such were the limits.

At the beginning of this century, and whilst residing on the referred to frontier, I was commissioned by Brigadier General D. Nemecio Salcedo to look up archives and make plans of these Provinces and their boundaries and make a report of my findings. But after two months I was relieved of my commission on account of (so I was told) misunderstandings between the Commandant General and the Viceroy, and also because the Rev. Father Fray Melchor Talamantes, who acting under orders of the Government worked on the same subject in Mexico City, and the Rev. Father Fray Jose Maria Rojas, a pupil of this College, who acting under instructions of the Commandant General, investigated the same subject in Chihuahua, found in the course of their work documents bearing upon the subject with which they seemed satisfied, all of which documents remained in possession of Father Talamantes.

All the information acquired during the course of my investigations was turned over to the Commandant General at Chihuahua, and of the plans which I made by accumulating all the data at hand, I gave one to the Commandant General, one to D. Jose de la Cruz in year 1815, another to Don Caesareo de la Rosa, who now resides in Guadalajara, when in former years he was sent to Spain as a delegate to Congress; yet another one was stolen from me by the Engineer Don Nicolas Finiels, who accompanied the ex-Marquis of Casa Calvo in 1804 on the occasion of his visit to the frontier of Texas, as delegate of the Spanish Government to settle the boundaries of this Province with that of Louisiana. Various copies of these plans have been made. The foreigners living in the province have also made fairly accurate plans of the region.

The manuscripts you speak of, entitled *Memoirs of Texas*, written by the Rev. Father Morfi, are full of important errors, inasmuch as this person never had the opportunity of reviewing them. These same errors are contained in *History of New Philippines, or Province of Texas*, written by Don Carlos Cifuenza y Gongora, for as he wrote a long time ago and without the necessary knowledge, his writings are very incomplete. *The Mexican Theatre*, written by

the Cavalier Villasenor, is also full of errors. *The Conquest of Nueva Galicia* hardly mentions the Province of Texas. What Don Antonio Bonilla wrote on the subject is very fine; he, however, wrote very fast and without practical knowledge of facts. The same thing occurs with the writings of the Rev. Father Fray Melchor Talamantes of the Order of Mercy. This enlightened writer studied all available documents, but he wrote so far away from the Province of Texas, and as he had never been there he could not give a perfect account of the region, and some of his writings are confused. Better by far is the account of the voyage of the ex-Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo, printed at the beginning of the last century, a copy of which exists in the Capital. The chronicles of the Apostolic Colleges written by the Rev. Father Fray Isidoro Espinosa in 1746, and Fray Domingo Arrecivia in 1792, both sons of the College of Quaratero, are also very good. Antonio Herrera and his pupils have also written on the subject, although some of these writings are not quite clear. The same thing occurs with Garcilazo de la Vega in his *History of Florida*, otherwise known as *The Incas of Peru*. This is even less clear than the preceding writings. Lately, Senor Onis, the Spanish Ambassador to the U. S., has written intelligently on the subject and his writings, as well as those before mentioned, can be had in Mexico, where also resides Senor don Francisco Velasco, Secretary in the office of the Commandant General of Chihuahua, a man well versed in the affairs of his office and of a great deal of talent, who can inform you with regard to the documents I mention above. Several Frenchmen have also written on the subject, amongst them a certain M. Dupratz, who resided in Louisiana from 1718 to 1734, but his history is full of falsehoods, especially in that part wherein he states that the limits of Louisiana extend to the west up to the Bravo or North River, by which statement he makes known his malice or ignorance and that he had not read, nor does he know in what year the Spaniards peopled the Province of Texas or New Philippines. This is the reason why credit should not be given to writings of French authors, excepting the notes in the commercial almanack, written in New Orleans in 1807 by M. Laffont.

Notwithstanding the foregoing I will say: that the Spaniards were the first to recognize the Province of Louisiana and Florida, as also the Province of Texas. The last province extended at first from the Red River, or de los Cadaudachos, or the Palisades or Nachitoches, as far as the Trinidad River, or River of Flowers or Magdalena River, that is to the westward of the first named river. But after the Cabinet had withdrawn the government from the Presidio of Adaix near Louisiana, and sent it to that of Bejar, 200 leagues to

the west southwest, the limits were fixed in the same direction by the River Nueces, which enters the Gulf of Mexico at the south, and to the north of Nueces by the River Medina, which enters the San Antonio de Bejar, in order to divide the Province of Coahuila from that of Santander.

The Trinidad River, or River of Flowers, or Magdalena River, as it is called by various authors, has its source at the 34th degree of latitude, and enters the Gulf of Mexico at the 29th degree 20 minutes of latitude and 283rd degree of longitude from the Peak of Tenerife. The Red River before mentioned, or as it is otherwise known, the Palisades or de los Cadauchos, has its source at the 36th degree of latitude, facing east of Santa Fe, capital of New Mexico, and running east, southeast enters the Mississippi at the 30th degree of latitude.

From the following notes your Excellency will see that the Spaniards were the first to occupy the Province of Texas or New Philippines and that of Louisiana and Florida, and you will also be able to deduct our absolute and incontestable right to all the old Province of Texas before the Anglo-Americans extended themselves to the Sabines River at the beginning of this century, which river is 25 Spanish leagues to the west of the Red or Nachitoches in the 32nd degree of latitude, for the Anglo-Americans desired, as the French had also desired, to extend their boundaries as far as the Bravo or North River, because they had heard it said that these were the limits, or possibly they had read the reports sent to the Court of France in the first part of the 17th century, confusing the above river with another which the French explorers of Louisiana had also called Bravo or North River and which is really an arm of the Mississippi which flows from it at the 30th degree of latitude and enters Mexican territory at the 29th degree and 29 minutes in Vermilion or Ascension Bay.

It is here necessary for me, to advise before I forget it, that there is a Sabines River, or as it is also called Salty River, in the Province of Coahuila, which enters the Rio Grande or North River at the 28th degree of latitude and the 277th of longitude from the Peak of Tenerife.

In the year 1512 Juan Ponce de Leon, a Spaniard, entered Florida in its southern part, at Easter time, and navigated along the coast of Mexico.

A few years later a pilot named Miruelo was dashed by a tempest on the coast of Florida, but having lost his bearings was unable to return to port.

In the year 1518 the Spanish Captain Juan de Gualva traveled

along the coast of the Province of Panuca from San Juan de Ulua up to what is now called Tamaulipas or Province of New Santander; he passed the Bravo or North River and called all this region New Spain. (*Fasti novi orbis.*)

In the year 1520 Captain Lucas Vasquez de Allon traveled along the coast of Texas or New Philippines and explored the mouth of the Mississippi, which he called Mud Cape. He crossed by land the Province of Texas, explored the Sabine or Mexican River with his troops and was killed in a fight with the Indians in the year 1524 at the 30th degree of latitude. According to the book 'Fasti novi orbis' and that of M. Lafont, all these chiefs led their expeditions by order of the Spanish Government.

In the year 1523, and by order of Francis the First, King of France, Juan Verasani sailed along the eastern coast of Florida and penetrated up to the 50th degree through territory now owned by the Anglo-Americans.

In 1528 the Spaniard, Panfilo de Narvaez, entered western Florida and established himself on the 5th of June in a place now called Apalaches in 30th degree of latitude. (*Fasti novi orbis.*)

Panfilo de Masumes entered Florida in the same year and place as de Narvaez, both acting under orders of their Government.

In 1537 Panfilo de Narvaez again entered Florida. His expedition was unfortunate however, only four men surviving. These were called Alvaro Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, Andres Dorantes, Alonso del Castillo and a negro called Estebanico. These survivors seeing the armada lost, their companions dead, determined to push on to Panuca and from there to Mexico. They crossed a great many regions, saw various nations of Indians, who guided them from one place to another as far as Culiacan in Sonora, passing through Louisiana, Texas, and the Province of Coahuila, etc., etc. (See Garcilazo de la Vega.)

In 1539 the Spanish Franciscan Monk, Marcos de Nisa, traveled through the kingdom of Cibula, which, so I have been informed, is situated west of the region now called New Mexico. He explored all that region as far as the Mississippi. This expedition of Marcos de Nisa caused several others to be sent out afterwards. (*Fasti Novi Orbis.*)

In 1539 the Spanish Captain Fernando de Soto, Governor of Havana, entered Florida the 12th of May, explored all the Province on both sides of the Mississippi up to the 34th degree; he traveled as far as the Red or Cadaudachos or Nachitoches or Palisades River, which is in the same degree, and whilst traveling down this river and fighting with the Indians was killed in the year 1541 at a place

between the above named river and the Mississippi fronting what is now Rosavellon or Natchez; his companions, headed by Luis Marcos Alvarado, a Spaniard, retreated down the Mississippi near the Mexican coast, which territory they penetrated several times. The referred to Captain Fernando de Soto entered the above regions under orders of the Spanish Government with 1000 men, only 300 of whom survived. In order not to confuse history and know the mistakes of the French, please note that deSoto called the Mississippi Rio Grande, a name subsequently given to the Bravo or North River. (*Garcilazo de la Vega.*)

In the year 1540, and acting under orders of the Viceroy don Antonio Mendoza, Captain Francisco Vasquez Camero entered California, searched for the Kingdom of Quivira, which I am informed lies west of New Mexico, crossed that of Cibula, which, as already stated, is west of the said Province. (*Fasti Novi Orbis.*)

In 1562 the French, under Juan de Rivaud, entered southern Florida and penetrated the country sixty leagues to the north.

In 1582, and acting under orders of their Government, Captain Espejo and the Franciscan Monk, Father Augustin Ruiz, both Spaniards, entered New Mexico after having explored various regions on both sides of the river. (*Fasti Novi Orbis.*)

In 1583 Ricardo Granville, a Frenchman, entered southern Florida.

In 1596, by order of Philip II, contained in his transcript to the Viceroy of Mexico, Zuniga de Acevedo, Count of Monterrey, Juan Onate, accompanied by various priests, entered New Mexico; afterwards in the time of Philip III don Diego Vargas Zapata, Marquis of Nava, entered the Province for the purpose of reconquering it. In this and various other expeditions our people penetrated up to the 46th degree on the Bravo or North River. Never had the French arrived this far, nor had they ever visited the mouth of the river on the Mexican Coast, although they assert having arrived at this point, because in former years, during the exploration of Louisiana they visited an arm of the Mississippi, distant about 50 leagues from the real mouth of said river, which they erroneously called Bravo or North River, mistaking it for the real river, which is very far away on the same coast, and also because they had not read very well what is written in the Spanish books. Since then many new settlements have been founded in New Mexico by the Spaniards, which were formerly called New Granada.

In this region resides the Theguas, and in Theguaya the first mission was founded in 1608, and at the time more than eighty souls were baptized. (See *Torquemada, Indian Monarchy*—Vol.I,

book 5, chap. 26 and following). Please note here that the inhabitants of New Mexico have always extended themselves since its foundation, eastward, traversing many countries very near the Mississippi. Hence I do not see with what authority the King of England, who must have been Charles II, gave to the settlers and inhabitants of the Carolinas, which are in the 35th degree in the Anglo-American States, all the lands from the eastern coast down to the southern seas, inasmuch as the Provinces of Texas and New Mexico had already been founded. Thus was it related to me by various Anglo-Americans when I visited those countries in the year 1803.

In 1611 the referred to Captain Juan de Onate set out from New Mexico, eastward, discovered the Canibaros Lakes, whoever knows which these may be, as also a Red River which appears to be the Cadaudachos or Palisade; from here comes the certain rights of the Spaniards to all the lands east of New Mexico, besides those already expressed, and for this reason I judge well placed my dividing line mentioned before between this country and that of Louisiana.

In 1630 his Excellency, the Viceroy Marquis de Cerralvo, commissioned don Hernando de Leon to discover the northern coast, reported this order to Madrid, where no instructions were issued. (This appears in the report P. I. No. 15, page, 19 No. 170, of the year 1778, in those archives). The said Hernando de Leon traveled more than 276 leagues from south to northeast up to the Red or Palisade River; where the French afterwards founded Nachitoches.

In the year 1664, the French did not yet know the Mississippi nor its western shores, and at this time they founded the Caroli Fort in Pensacola.

In 1671, through a contingency, the Capuchin Monk Annepin set out from Canada and arrived on the shores of the Mississippi at the 36th degree of latitude.

In 1673 the Jesuit Marquette set out from Canada, discovered various rivers, including the Arkansas, which is west of the Mississippi and which flows into the last named river at the 34th degree of latitude.

On the 18th of November, 1678, the Chevalier Robert de La Salle (together with Father Hennepin) Governor of Canada, received an order to make new discoveries

In 1679, the same Robert de LaSalle, accompanied by Father Annepin, set out from Canada and visited the Mississippi at the same degree of latitude mentioned above. They built a fort which they called Fort Saint Anthony; they explored the western shores of the Saint Francis River, and the first fort built by the French on the

Mississippi was erected by them at a point now called Black Islands, and its capital Santa Genoveva.

In 1682 the same Robert de LaSalle traveled down the Mississippi to its mouth which he explored on the 2nd of February of the same year.

In 1684 the referred to Robert de LaSalle returned to Quebec in Canada; and after obtaining all he wished, plus four small ships sailed for the Mississippi on July 4th.

In 1685 his expedition came to grief; he lost three ships on the shores of the Island of Santo Domingo; he could not locate the mouth of the Mississippi, and took refuge on the coast of Saint Bernard in February of the same year, stopping at an island called Culebra.

In 1687, after having erected a wooden fort in the aforesaid bay, Robert de LaSalle was killed by a Mr. Duhan and all of his people rebelled against him. This is the only evidence that the French have for alleging that all Texas is theirs. But this claim is without valid foundation, for Robert de LaSalle arrived on those shores accidentally and without a legitimate commission. All of his companions were killed by the Indians of the coast. These spared only one little French girl and two little French boys called Talon and Muni, all of whom were afterwards taken from the Indians by the Spanish troops, who presented them to the Viceroy and Vicereine.

In 1688 a few Indians reported to Father Fray Damian Mazanet, a Missionary of the Holy Cross of Queratero in the Mission of Santiago in the Department of Coahuila, that some Frenchmen were settling in the bay of the Holy Spirit, on the Coast of Saint Bernard about 150 leagues to the east. Father Mazanet reported back to the Governor don Alfonso de Leon, who by order of the Viceroy of Mexico, the Count of Galvez, set out to expel these settlers. He found on arriving at the spot mentioned that all the Indians had said was true, but that they had killed all the Frenchmen and destroyed their fort. (See *Padre Espinosa in The Chronicle of the Colleges*). During this expedition the Texas Indians asked the Spaniards to people their lands, which lie west of the Trinidad or River of Flowers or Magdalena River, as it is sometimes called, which request was subsequently granted.

In 1690, March the 27th, don Alfonso de Leon, Governor of Coahuila, headed a second expedition into Texas. On the 26th of April they explored the Bay of the Holy Spirit; they found there the artillery brought by Robert de LaSalle and they finished the destruction of his fort. The troops navigated the San Marcos, Guadalupe or River of Flowers, the San Antonio of Bejar, the Red or Cane

River, the Brazos de Dios, the Santa Teresa or Barroso, the Trinidad or River of Flowers or Magdalena Rivers and arrived at the Netches River, in the 31st degree of latitude and the 282nd degree 30 minutes of longitude from the Peak of Tenerife. On the 25th of May the first Mass was said in those regions. The Texas Indians swore obedience to his Majesty Charles the Second, King of Spain. The Missionaries were placed in charge of the first mission founded in Texas, which was called the Mission of San Francisco. The troops, after leaving four priests and a few soldiers in charge, returned to Monclova, capital of the Province of Coahuila, where they arrived in the middle of July of the same year. (*Chronicle of the Colleges*, page 409.)

In the same year, 1690, the Mission of Jesus, Mary and Joseph was founded in that region. I do not mention the missions founded in Coahuila, New Kingdom of Leon, Santander or Tamaulipas, for this is not necessary, as they were founded at various times and a great many years before.

In the year 1691 the Council of War held in Mexico decided to send a new expedition into Texas under command of don Domingo Teran, Governor of Coahuila. The new expedition set out and established its first camp on the banks of the San Marcos River, which river enters the Guadalupe from the east at the 30th degree of latitude. From there the Governor set out to again explore the Bay of the Holy Spirit. On the 26th of October a junction was effected with the troops the Viceroy had sent by sea, and the expedition progressed almost up to the Fort of Mataforda. After taking the cannons left by Robert de LaSalle at the Arroyo de la Baca, which enters the lagoons at the 28th degree and 40 minutes latitude, and 280th degree and 10 minutes longitude, they proceeded to the Red or Cadaudachos or Palisade River. On the 30th of November soundings were taken of this river for a distance of three leagues in the Indian canoes at about the 32nd degree of latitude. Thus was it seen that the missions founded before were distant about 56 Spanish leagues due west, and the troops repaired thereto. (See *Chronicle of the Colleges*.)

In the year 1692, about the beginning of February, the troops returned to the province of Coahuila.

In 1693 the settlers of the missions along the frontier became frightened because of a false rumor that the French in the Provinces of Mobile and Florida, all east of the Mississippi, were about to invade Texas or New Philipppines. During the month of October all the missionaries and settlers withdrew to the missions afterwards called Bejar, on the San Antonio or Deep River at the 30th degree

of latitude. The fears of the missionaries and settlers were groundless, as the French were about 200 Spanish leagues away to the east southeast. (See *Chronicles of the Colleges*.)

In 1697 Iberville, a Canadian gentleman, sailed from Rochefort with two ships to explore the Mississippi.

In 1698 he succeeded in his endeavors, brought families from Canada, and established them about 15 leagues from "la Baliza del Mississippi" on the right bank of the river at Fort Bourbon, facing Plaquemine. (M. Laffont.)

On the 23rd of October, 1700, his Majesty Philip IV, King of Spain, was informed of the foundation of the Mission of the Holy Cross of Queratero, and of the necessity of founding new missions along the San Marcos and Guadalupe rivers. to which he acceded in four transcripts,—one directed to the Viceroy of Mexico Senor Valladares, one to the Bishop of Guadalajara under whose jurisdiction these regions were; one to the Governor of the Province of Coahuila, and another to the Governor of New Leon, all in favor of the missionaries. (See *Chronicles of the Colleges*.)

In 1701, we must here note that as yet the French were not in possession of one inch of territory in the Province of Texas or New Philippines, nor had they approached any of its frontier.

In the same year, 1701, the Jesuit Father Francisco Kino, traveled the Colorado (or Red) River that flows into the sea of California. I mention this so as to avoid confusing the said river with the other Colorado (Red) Rivers that are in the Province of Texas.

In 1702 new French colonists entered Mobile.

In 1703 they erected Fort Louis.

In the same year, 1703, the King of Spain was petitioned to found the College of Our Lady of Guadalupe of Zacatecas, for the reason that it was well situated so that its sons could found new missions in the Province of Texas.

In 1704, the 27th of January, a royal transcript was issued to that effect; said transcript arrived in 1706, and on the 12th of January, 1707, the Rev. Father Marjil, founder and first President of the College, took possession of his office.

In 1709, by order of the Viceroy of Mexico, the Duke of Albuquerque, another expedition set out from Coahuila to visit the Province of Texas, and said expedition traveled up to the Trinidad River, or River of Flowers, or Magdalena River, at the 31st degree of latitude. (See *Chronicle of the Colleges*.)

In 1711 the French occupied Dolfín Island, and in 1712 both the Spanish and French settlers fixed the frontiers of these eastern

Provinces, and the King of France made a royal grant of lands and privileges in favor of Mr. Croisat, which certainly the said Monarch had no right to do, as these lands were not his to give. (See Mr. Laffont.)

In the year 1714 Father Hildago wrote to the French in Louisiana asking them to pacify the nations of Indians by force of arms, and in answer to this invitation three of them penetrated as far as the Mission San Juan Bautista, situated on the Northern Bravo River. The Government did not admit them, but on the contrary sent them under arrest to the Viceroy, to whom they declared that they had come to buy cattle, and Father Hidalgo was reprimanded by the Government of Mexico.

In 1716, inasmuch as the French from Mobile had penetrated as far as the Mission San Juan Bautista de Espana, which is situated at the 39th degree and 30 minutes on the Northern Bravo River, the Viceroy, the Duke of Linares, ordered that the Province of Texas should again be settled, which was done, the expedition being headed by the Lieutenant of Coahuila, Don Domingo Ramon, who entered in the referred to Province June 28th of the same year, accompanied by the venerable Father Marjil. The old missions founded in 1690 were re-established, and the following new ones founded: On the 7th of May that of the "Purissima Concepcion"; on the 9th that of N. S. de Guadalupe de Nacogdoches, at the 31st degree and 30 minutes, and July 10th that of San Jose near the others; and the Viceroy ordered that a garrison of 25 soldiers should be left for their custody.

In 1717, in the month of January, the venerable Father Marjil founded the Mission of N. S. de los Dolores de los Aix, or Asies Indians, on the small river of that name, and about 16 leagues to the east of that of Nacogdoches. In February of the same year the venerable Father visited the Yatase Indians, who were situated on the Red or Palisade River at the 33rd degree. In March the venerable Father founded the Mission of Saint Michael in the Creek of the Adaiz or Adaises Indians, 7 leagues west of the Red or de los Cadaudachos or Palisade River at the 32nd degree. In the same year, by order of the Viceroy, Marquis de Valero, the venerable Father Marjil explored the western shores of the above named river at a place now called Natchitoches. In this voyage he encountered no opposition whatever, as the French had not yet made their appearance in those regions. About this time the Viceroy issued an order that all the regions were to pass under the control of the Governor of Monclova, capital of the Province of Coahuila, Sergeant-Major Don Martin de

Alarcon, and that missions, settlements, and fortresses should be established without delay. (See *Chronicle of the Colleges*.)

In the same year, 1717, September 6th, a Frenchman named Low, organized the West Indies Company, which company, fearing the advance of the Spaniards through Texas, ordered the creation of the Natchitoches fort on the eastern bank of the Red or de los Cadaudachos or Palisade River at the 32nd degree, directly facing the actual town of that name (Mr. Laffont), the river being recognized as the boundary by both the Spaniards and French, so the last claim; and I have been told by the old settlers that if a Frenchman transgressed the law and crossed the river to the western shores he was not followed, out of respect for Spanish territory. In the same year the mission of San Antonio de Valero was founded on the eastern bank of the Deep or San Antonio River at the 30th degree of latitude. (See *Chronicle of the Colleges*.)

In 1718 the people began to call the Province of Texas New Philippines, in honor of Phillip V, King of Spain and these Indies. The Governor of Coahuila and Texas, Don Martin de Alarcon, visited the Bay of the Holy Spirit, the interior of the Province of Texas up to the frontier, the Red or Colorado River (Palisade) etc. He left a few soldiers in the Adaix Mission, and so appears in our Chronicle, Bejar began to assume the importance of a garrison, for 50 soldiers and their captain were left at that place.

In the same year, 1718, the French, with a few poverty stricken people, founded New Orleans, and in this same year, 1718, the Mission of San Francisco de Solano was transferred from the margins of the Northern Rio Grande to that of San Antonio de Bejar.

In 1719 news was received through Louisiana at Fort Nachitoches on the frontier, that France and Spain were at war and the French Commandant of Nachitoches, with his few miserable soldiers, attacked the Spanish Mission of Adaix, 7 leagues west of Nachitoches. He encountered no resistance, as the people of the mission fled, believing that they were going to be attacked by a large force. The French sacked the sacred ornaments and vases, took as prisoners a lay priest, one soldier, and all the chickens they could find. The news of this feat of arms traveled very fast and all the inhabitants of the missions founded in previous years fled to that of Vejar, 200 leagues west.

In the same year, 1719, the Mission and Fortress of The Holy Spirit was established at the mouth of the before mentioned Arroyo de la Baca.

In the same year, 1719, Mr. Viron, a Frenchman, traveled up the Arkansas River as far as the 35th degree, where reside the Pa-

douca nation of Indians. This river enters the Mississippi at the 33rd degree and 30 minutes. (Mr. Laffont.)

In 1720 the French founded Natchez on the eastern shore of the Mississippi. (Mr. Laffont.)

In the same year, 1720, the venerable Father Marjil founded the San Jose Mission on the San Antonio de Bejar River, 3 leagues to the southwest of the said river, and that of N. S. de Guadalupe in the Bay of the Holy Spirit, then known as Arroyo de Baca.

In 1721 the Marquis of San Miguel de Agnayo was named Governor of these regions. He arrived at the fortress on the San Antonio River in March, and reached the missions on the frontiers of Texas with his troops July 28th. These missions were re-peopled as far as that of Adaix, and at a short distance a fortress of the same name was erected. One hundred soldiers were left as a garrison, a church was built, dedicated to N. S. del Pilar; he traveled 7 leagues to the east up to the margin of the Red or Palisade River, where he observed that the French had not yet crossed this part of the said river. (So say our Chronicles and the Voyages of the Marquis.) According to ancient tradition repeated by the old people of the country, the Marquis de Aguayo left soldiers on the right bank of the river to protect it. These fortified themselves on a hill called Spanish Fort, where Mass was said for both the French and Spaniards by the Spanish missionaries. In the meantime the Marquis returned to Coahuila. (See our Chronicles.)

In 1722 the French made New Orleans a town and established therein the Capital of Louisiana. The following year the Governor removed his quarters there. Immediately they destroyed Fort Yazou. About this time, and at the request of the Texas Missionaries, an investigation was begun about the lack of protection afforded the missions in the preceding years. The Missionaries were absolved from blame and the record is preserved in the College of the Holy Cross of Queratero.

In 1724 Sandoval, the Spanish Governor of Adaix, and the French Commandant of Nachitoches, both acting without authority of the governments, fixed as boundaries the Arroyo Hondo or de la Montana, 3 leagues west of the before mentioned Red or de los Cadaudochos River at the 32nd degree, and for this reason the French crossed to the western bank of the river, erected a small fort which up to the beginning of last century still preserved its name, as I will relate in my last notes.

In the year 1727 the Brigadier don Pedro Rivero visited the Province of Texas, removed the fort situated in the center of its missions, reduced the force stationed in the fort on the frontier

called Adaix, by forty men, and moved the fortress from the Bay of the Holy Spirit with its mission to the Guadalupe River or River of Flowers.

In 1730 the French settled on the shores of the Palisade or Cadauchos or Red River, on its eastern shores at the 33rd degree. They established there a miserable trading fort with only six soldiers and two small swivel guns six inches long to frighten the Indians, one of which I saw myself a few years back in Nacogdoches.

In the same year, 1730, the Missions of La Concepcion, San Jose and San Francisco were removed to the San Antonio River near the fortress that already existed there, little more than 150 leagues to the west of their former situation and at the 30th degree.

In the same year, 1730, the town of San Fernando was founded near the fortress of Bejar, for which purpose 15 families were brought from the Canary Islands at a cost of 720 pesos for their transportation. Besides these, a great many people were brought there by force from the various prisons of these Provinces.

In 1748 The Saint Xavier Missions were founded on the river of the same name, which flows from the westward into the Santa Teresa or Borzoso River at the 31st degree and a few minutes. The missions of San Idelfonso and Candelaria were also founded thereabouts. By superior orders a few soldiers were left in Saint Xavier; the missions were attacked by the Indians and abandoned. (Father Arrecivita.)

In 1749 the garrison and Mission near the bay of the Holy Spirit were removed to the San Antonio de Bejar or Deep River, 40 leagues southeast of Bejar and 18 leagues from where the river flows into the lagoons that empty into the Mexican Gulf. The Mission was afterwards known as the Mission of the Holy Spirit.

In 1754 the Rosario Mission was founded, near to, but west of, the fortifications of the bay of the Holy Spirit.

In 1756 the Fort Orcoquiza, or de Lampe, was erected and the mission of N. S. de la Luz founded on the Trinidad, or River of Flowers, or Magdalena River, near its mouth at the 29th degree and 30 minutes latitude.

In 1757 Col. Diego Ortiz de Parilla founded the fortress and mission of San Saba and San Lorenzo at the 33rd degree, on the eastern shores of the Red River that is situated in the center of Texas, which is called Espiritu Santo, or Canas, or San Bernardo. (Father Arrecivita.)

In 1762, on the 3rd of November, France sells the Province of Louisiana to Spain, after having concluded peace. The Versailles

Cabinet advises the Powers of the said transfer April 21, 1764, and in 1765 the orders of the French Monarch reach New Orleans.

In 1764 Father Calaorra of this College of Guadalupe, enters the Red or de los Cadaudachos or Palisade River, at the 33rd degree, 30 minutes of latitude, to the north of Nacogdoches, invited thereto by the Tahuacanas and Tahuayaces Nations of Indians; he visited many ranchos and was requested to found a mission.

In 1767, the then Inspector of the Province of Texas, Marquis de Rubi, ordered that the mission and fortress of San Saba be abandoned. (Father Arreciyita.)

In 1768, Sr. Ulloa takes possession of the Province of Louisiana in the name of the Spanish Government; on July 25, 1769, Sr. Orreli is appointed Governor. Please note that up to this time the French had scrupulously respected the boundaries mentioned by me in the beginning.

In a royal transcript dated December 10, 1770, the King of Spain abolishes the mission and fortresses of Aises and Orroquiza, for as Louisiana now belonged to Spain there was no further necessity of guarding these places; a short while after all the soldiers, settlers and Indians living there removed to the Capital of Bejar.

In 1775 some of the inhabitants of Adaix obtained permission to settle on the Trinidad, or River of Flowers, or Magdalena River, which they did. Subsequently, their settlement was flooded and they passed on to the old settlement of Nacogdoches at the 31st and a half degrees, and 40 leagues east, where they remained up to the last few years.

In 1791 the Refugio mission was founded 10 leagues south of the Bay of the Holy Spirit.

In 1799 an American called Nolan, who had come there to gather horses, was expelled from the shores of the Trinidad or River of Flowers or Magdalena River, at the 33rd degree, by Captain Don Miguel Musquiz, because he was in Spanish territory without a license.

In 1799 the Spaniards still maintained the old outposts to prevent smuggling through Louisiana. The soldiers were stationed on the Aloyas River, 10 leagues east of Nacogdoches, on the Sabines or Mexican River, in a line with, but at a distance of 16 leagues from those just mentioned places, and yet another detachment was stationed at Vallapier or Valluco de los Piedras, about 20 leagues north-west, on the Red, or de los Cadaudachos or Palisade River.

On the 30th of April, 1800, the French and Spanish Cabinets open negotiations for receding Louisiana to France.

On April 30, 1802, France sold Louisiana to the Anglo-American United States.

On the 20th of December, 1803, France delivered New Orleans to the United States, and from time to time all the other points up the Mississippi.

In 1803 the Governor of Texas placed a detachment of soldiers in Alarcosito, on the Trinidad, or River of Flowers, or Magdalena River, where formerly existed the Spanish fortress of Arroquiza.

In 1804, in the month of April, Nachitoches was delivered over to the United States, and the Anglo-Americans built a wooden fort there, which exists to this day.

In January, 1805, the Marquis of Casa Calvo visited Nacogdoches with his engineers to examine the boundaries. He proceeded as far as the Calcuchue River, which flows into the Gulf of Mexico to the east of the Sabine River.

In the month of April, 1805, the Bishop of Monterrey, while traveling through his diocese, visited Nacogdoches and west up as far as the frontier of the United States, and then returned home.

In January 1805 Sr. Cordero, Commandant General of Texas, established the town of Salcedo, on the eastern shore of the Trinidad, or River of Flowers, or Magdalena River, facing the place where in 1775 the former inhabitants of Adaix or Adaises, had settled at the 31st degree and a few minutes.

In the same year, 1805, a detachment of soldiers sent by Sr. Salcedo to occupy the place where the former inhabitants of Adaix or Adaises had settled, were expelled by American troops.

In 1806, the 29th of July, the Adjutant Inspector Don Francisco Viana expelled a troop of Americans who were entering to explore the lands along the Red or Palisade or de los Cadaúchos River, at the 33rd degree and 30 minutes of latitude.

In 1806 the Spanish and American forces established their camp on either shores of the Sabines or Mexican River, the Spaniards under command of Sres. Cordero and Herrera, and the Americans under command of General Wilkinson. In order to avoid hostilities these chiefs agreed that the Americans were not to cross Arroyo Hondo, whilst the Spaniards would refrain from crossing the Sabines River until their respective governments should come to an agreement.

In March 1813, Sr. Gutierrez took command of the Spanish and Anglo-American troops at the fortress situated in the Bay of the Holy Spirit, to fight for the cause of independence against the Royalists Commanders Brigadier Herrera and Col. Salcedo. These retreated to Bejar, and surrendered there on the 2nd of April.

On the 18th of August, 1813, General Gutierrez was routed by the Royalists General Arredondo a few leagues away from Bejar. General Elisondo pursued the fugitives up to Salcedo, a town founded a few years before on the Trinidad, or River of Flowers, or Magdalena River, and the news traveled to Nacogdoches, 40 leagues to the eastward, and all the inhabitants fled to the United States for protection stopping at the former settlement of Adaix or Adaises, 7 leagues this side of Nachitoches, where they have remained to this day.

NOTE: From all the foregoing may be deducted our just and unalterable possession of all the Province of Texas in accordance with the boundaries mentioned by me at the beginning of this paper.

No account must be taken of the inexact assertions of the French contained in their books, and much less of the statements contained in a pamphlet printed in Havana at the beginning of this century, which at the time created a great sensation, and which entitled: "La Aurora, Limits and Extension of Louisiana, extracted from a manuscript referring to the said Province, written by a military gentlemen who was stationed on the Mississippi since the spring of 1803," for I repeat that the said pamphlet is full of lies from beginning to end.

JUSTIFICATIVE DOCUMENTS

That are in the office of the Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs in Mexico, and others that are cited herein.

In the records entitled "*Inspection of Fortresses*," book 11, page 16, appear the instructions given to the Marquis de Rubi by the Viceroy Marquis de Crullas, under date of the 10th of March, 1766, which among other things say: Inasmuch as the fortresses of Adaix, in the Province of Texas, and that of Nachitoches are at a short distance one from the other, please report if, in your opinion, one of these could be advantageously removed to another place, in the event that the territory of Louisiana should pass under the dominion of his Catholic Majesty." To which I add that the government, fortresses and missions were removed to San Antonio de Bejar.

Again in the same book, page 22, we find the said Viceroy's instructions, dated September 18, 1766, to the Marquis de Rubi, with regard to the Tahuayos Nation.

Page 1 of said book contains the Viceroy's order to the Governor of the Province and Captain of his company; on page 4 are the

Marquis de Rubi's order to the same Governor giving him charge as captain of Adaix, and pages 4 and 8 it is recorded that Governor Martos went through the regular formalities with his predecessor, Don Benito Barrios.

Other records on page 9, written by the Marquis de Rubi, show that the Viceroy, having recalled Governor Martos, Hugo O'Connor was appointed captain of the company and Governor of Texas.

Baron de Ripperda says in his correspondence dated in Bejar the 28th of April, 1772, as appears in record 41 of the viceregal index, page 2: "If such is found necessary, I shall advance the lines of fortresses from the Mississippi up to New Mexico," etc.

On page 27 he says: "Don Luis de Sandenis is now within the confines of the Province of Texas, District of Nachitoches in Louisiana."

The same record, page 83, proves the Adaix to have belonged to Texas or Spain, for the Viceroy says that although since the creation of the fortress of Adaix his Majesty has maintained four missions there, no Indians had been converted. This, however, is not true, as may be seen from the records of the missions.

On pages 107 and 108, Article 1st of the Regulations, may be seen the transcript of his Majesty under date of the 10th of December, 1772, in which he speaks of abolishing the Missions and in Article 5th of abolishing the fortress of Adaix.

In the Judicial Proceedings instituted by the settlers of Adaix, book 42 of the Viceregal index, page 17, appears the certification of Father Pedro Fuentes, saying that he has received two books of records of the said missions, begun in 1716 the one, and in 1717 the other, which show that the Missions of Nacogdoches and de los Aix were part of the Province of Texas, or New Philipppines.

The proceedings of the settlers of Adaix, soliciting that they be allowed to remove to the Mission of Aix; record No. 1 in book 42 of the viceregal index, relating to the foundation of the town of Bucareli; Nos. 5 and 6 of the same book referring to the abandonment of the said town of Bucareli, are convincing proof that the boundaries of Texas extended to the limits I have mentioned before.

In the copy of the Order of the Marquis de Rubi, appearing on page 42 of book 1, in which orders are given to evacuate Orraquiza after the evacuation of San Saba has been effected.

In book 1 appears a communication from Sr. Croix, dated November 19, 1781, and another on the last page, dated August 22, 1782, which says: "In the announced meeting the points your Excellency covers in his report will be resolved."

On the last page of book 2 there is a Royal Order, dated February

20, 1783, in which the King authorizes the establishment of a town on the San Marcos River after peace is declared.

In book 7, pages 1 and 2, it is recorded that Don Luis Carlos de Branc, Commandant at Nachitoches, informed the Governor of Louisiana, Don Esteban Miro, that inasmuch as the Province of Louisiana belonged to the King of Spain, the people of the region should be permitted to extend their settlements up to the Sabines or Mexican River, as the country they now occupied is rather small for their requirements. This statement, however, is untrue, as to the north and south and east they disposed of vast territories still unsettled; for this reason, and also to preserve as far as possible the frontiers, the Governors of Texas never permitted the French of Louisiana to extend themselves beyond their own frontiers. Governor Miro, however, approved of this request, as may be seen on page 3.

On page 6 there appears a royal decree ordering a report from the Viceroy of Mexico and which ends thus: "Nothing was done with regard to extending the limits of Louisiana."

On page 7 it is recorded that the then Commandant General of all the interior Provinces, the Chevalier de la Croix, reconcentrated all the establishments of Texas to the fortress of Bejar, but that during the incumbency of Governor Don Domingo Cabello the old order was re-established.

In the Royal Decrees dated the 3rd and 29th of November, 1785, the conclusion of this matter is foreseen, (page 9), and on page 31 is the Royal Decree dated September 21, 1793, ordering the Viceroy to take no further action with regard to the matter for the time being.

Record 370, section 22, contains the report of Don Esteban Miro, Governor of Louisiana, to Sr. Rangel, Governor of Texas, in which he says: "I regret not being able to inform you with regard to the boundaries of this Province with that of Texas, for the French have only left in his office a plan of the Mississippi and of the establishments erected by them."

Book 1, page 170, contains the report of Sr. Cabello and a copy of the record concerning reciprocal trading between Louisiana and Texas, extension of the Province, etc., with a letter from Sr. Miro to Sr. Rangel.

The fortress of Nachitoches was constructed in the time that Don. Manuel Sandoval was Governor of Texas. This event having come to the knowledge of the King, in a Royal decree dated July 15, 1740, he orders the Governor of Texas, Don Justo Barco, to report back on the subject.

The Crown's attorney, Don Pedro de Ullon, under date of the 28th of September, 1741, requests the then Governor of Texas, to report upon the boundaries of his Province, and also that in Mexico testimony should be taken from six competent witnesses, who all declared that they had always recognized Nachitoches, on the western bank of the de los Cadaudachos River, two leagues and a half from Arroyo Hondo, as the limits of both Crowns. They added, however, that they did not know that Governor Sandoval had on his own initiative given a track of land to the French, which caused them to cross the Red or de los Cadaudachos, or Palisade River, for which reason Sandoval was brought under arrest to Mexico.

A decree of the Viceroy Acuna, Marquis of Casafuerte, Governor of Texas, dated July 1, 1730, ordering that two or three soldiers should accompany the Texas Missionaries in their expedition to the friendly Indians. The original exists in the archives of Bejar.

In the Council of War and Finance, celebrated in Mexico, the 21st and 22nd of January, 1754, presided by the Viceroy Sr. Orcasitas, proofs were offered to show that the French of Nachitoches had passed the French frontier into the Spanish lands of Texas. Sandoval having been arrested, the Crown's Attorney asked the new Governor of the Province to report on this subject, and if the matter as reported was found to be true, that he make the necessary political demands on the Governor of Louisiana. All these instructions were followed out, but affairs remained as they were, and after hearing the declarations of more than twelve witnesses, there still remained a doubt as to whether the boundary was on the Arroyo Hondo or on the Red River.

A royal transcript directed to Don Justo Barco y Morales, Governor of Texas, orders him to report if the former Governor of Texas, Don Manuel Sandoval had permitted the French of Nachitoches to construct a fortress on Spanish soil, etc. The documents are preserved in the archives of Bejar. Later I was told by several old Frenchmen residing in the region that such had been the case.

The copy of the record marked P. Y. No. 15, page 19, No. 170 of 1778, refers to the commerce carried on between Louisiana and Texas, and the extension of the limits of the first mentioned Province up to the Sabines River. In the latter part of the first volume appears the report of the Governor of Texas, Sr. Cabello, which says: that in 1730 (see the subsequent note) the Viceroy Marquis de Toraldo orders that the Governor of the New Kingdom of Leon, Sr. Hernando de Leon, should explore the northern sea coast. That these orders were carried out and he explored and marked all the coast as pertaining to Mexican territory in its eastern part; he also

explored new territory for more than 276 leagues from south to north from the Medina River up to the Red or Palisade River, on the banks of which last the French afterwards founded Nachitoches, and that he also traveled the same region from west to east.

NOTE: It is clearly an error to say that Hernando de Leon was designated in 1730 to explore the northern coast; instead it should be 1630, because the third paragraph says that as the Court of Spain did not dictate orders relative to the matter, the Count of Galvez commissioned Domingo Terran, in the year 1688, to visit the Province of Texas, and it is clear that no report concerning Hernando de Leon could have reached the Court before the Count of Galvez sent Domingo Terran to Texas in 1688. It is clear also, that it was in 1630, because the Marquis of Cerralvo was then Viceroy, not Torraldo, for there never was a Viceroy of that name. Further Governor Cabello says in his report: "That Hernando de Leon, having returned to Monterrey, sent his diary to the Viceroy, the Marquis of Cerraldo, and that his Excellency reported to the Court."

There is also an official communication in the archives of your office from the Cavalier de la Croix, dated September 23, 1778, containing a list of all the towns, missions and Indians in the Province of Texas. He even adds thereto a few of the frontier nations who really lived in Louisiana, all of which, it seems to me, I have read in the history written by Father Talamantes in Mexico, and which by accident I found in a private house.

I beg of your Excellency to excuse any defects you may find in this paper, for it is a long time, more than 20 years, that I studied this question. I have forgotten a great deal, lost a great many papers, and what I have left are a few very small notes.

May God keep your Excellency a great many years.

College of N. S. de Guadalupe the 30th of November, 1827.

Excmo. Sr.

Fr. JOSE MARIA de JESUS PUELLES.

BERNARDO de GALVEZ

DIARY

OF THE OPERATIONS AGAINST PENSACOLA

Translated from a pamphlet belonging to

MR. GASPAR CUSACHS

New Orleans, La.

"C" No. 1

DIARY

**of the Operations of the Expedition Against the Place of
Pensacola, Concluded by the Arms of H. Catholic M.,
Under the Orders of the Field Marshall Don
Bernardo de Galvez.**

The expedition which sailed from Havana the 16th of October, 1780, against Pensacola, having been frustrated by the hurricane, its Commander Dn. Bernardo de Galvez, returned to the sailing port, November 17th, with the sorrow of ignoring the whereabouts of the ships of his escort, some of which dispersed by the storm, went to Campeche, others to the Mississippi River, a few to other places, and it is believed that one perished, for nothing is known of its fate. After his arrival in Havana the referred to General reiterated his former pretensions that the fort of Mobile be succored with provisions and men, not only because it found itself very short of these, but also because it threatened to be attacked. In view of his insistence, the Council of Generals ordered that two ships be prepared capable of transporting 500 men and some provisions, and this small convoy made sail the 6th of December under command of the Capitan of frigate Dn. Joseph de Rada; notwithstanding that after a few days navigation, he arrived safely at the mouth of the Mobile, he determined not to enter its bay on account having found (so he assured) some variation in the channel, and he made sail directly for the Baliza of the Mississippi River at the entrance of which he left the convoy and returned to Havana.

This circumstance, that two English frigates had penetrated the very Bay of Mobile five days after, and the news that the detach-

DIARIO

De las operaciones de la expedicion contra la Plaza de Panzacola conchuida por las Armas de S. M. Católica, baxo las ordenes del Mariscal de Campo D. Bernardo de Galvez.

FRustrada por el uracán la Expedicion que salió de la Havana contra Panzacola en 16 de Octubre de 1780, regresó su Comandante Don Bernardo de Galvez al Puerto de la salida, el 17 de Noviembre con el dolor de ignorar el paradero de las embarcaciones de su comboy, de las quales dispersadas por el temporal, unas fueron á parar á Campeche, otras al rio Misisipí, algunas á otras partes, y se cree haber perecido una mediante no saberse su suerte. Luego que llegó á la Havana el referido General reiteró sus antiguas pretensiones de que se socorriese el Fuerte de la Mobila con víveres y tropas, así por hallarse escasisimo de aquellos, como por estar amenazado de un ataque. En fuerza de sus instancias mandó la Junta de Generales se habilitasen los buques correspondientes al transporte de 500 hombres, y alguna cantidad de comestibles, y este pequeño comboy se hizo á la vela en 6 de Diciembre al mando del Capitan de fragata D. Joseph de Rada; pero sin embargo que á pocos dias de navegacion arribó felizmente á la boca de la Mobila, no se determinó á entrar en su bahía por haber encontrado (según aseguró) alguna variacion en el canal, y se hizo á la vela en derechura á la Bahía del rio Misisipí, á cuya entrada dexó el comboy y se restituyó á la Havana.

Esta circunstancia, la de haber entrado dos fragatas Inglesas en la misma bahía de la Mobila cinco dias despues, y la noticia de haber sido atacado el destacamento del Village, movieron á D. Bernardo de Galvez á instar, para que ya que el estado de las cosas no permitiese renovar la expedicion desde la Havana, se le diese alguna tropa con que reforzar las guarniciones de la Luisiana y Mobila, y desde allí, si hallase una oportunidad feliz, empeñar para un nuevo esfuerzo á los habitantes

ment of the village had been attacked, moved Dn. Bernardo de Galvez to urge, that although the state of things did not permit a renewal of the expedition from Havana, some troops be given him with which to reinforce the garrisons of Louisiana and Mobile and from there, if a favorable opportunity were found, pledge the inhabitants of those regions to a further effort and fall on Pensacola, or if this could not be, preserve more securely what had been conquered. The idea having been approved by the Council of Generals, it was resolved to select 1315 men from the various regiments, including five companies of grenadiers and to provide for the equipment of vessels as transports, and designating as a guard for these, the ship of war San Ramon, commanded by Dn. Joseph Calvo, the frigate Sta. Clara, Capitan D. Miguel Alderete, the Sta. Cecilia, Capitan D. Miguel de Goicochea, the tender Caiman, Capitan D. Joseph Serrato, and the packet S. Gil, Capitan D. Joseph Maria Chacon, all under the orders of the referred to General D. Bernardo de Galvez, on his petition and by consent of the Council, as will be seen by the following communication sent by the General of Marine to the Commander of Ship, D. Joseph Calvo.

"To the question contained in your paper of yesterday, that I manifest to you the terms under which you must go subordinated to and obey the orders of the Field Marshall of the Royal Armies, D. Bernardo de Galvez, I beg to advise that your honor shall put in practice with all your well-known and notorious diligence those that the expressed Don Bernardo shall give your Honor relative to the conquest of Pensacola, without separating yourself in other things from what the Royal Ordinances of the Armada provide, endeavoring that the strictest discipline be observed in all the ships under your orders, as provided therein. May our Lord keep you many years. Havana, 6th of February, 1781. Juan Bantista Bonet. Sr. Dn. Joseph Calbo."

When all was ready on the part of the Army and the Navy, the General embarked February 13th in spite of finding himself somewhat failing in health; the troops did the same on the 14th and on the 28th in the morning the convoy sailed, so happily, that, by three in the afternoon, the ships were all a great distance from the Port of Havana. The General had previously sent Capitan D. Emiliano Maxent in a schooner to New Orleans with orders to the Commandant of Arms, so that the troops that D. Joseph Rada had left and those that had arrived on account of the October storm should set out and meet the convoy, and to that end had already advised under date of February 1st, that they find themselves ready to sail at the first signal.

On the first of March the General commissioned the sub-lieutenant of the Regiment Spain, D. Miguel de Herrera, to go by schooner to Mobile with letters for D. Joseph Espeleta, in which he informs him of his intention of proceeding to the East of Santa Rosa Island, fronting the Port of Pensacola, advising him to march by land to form a union with the troops of his command.

On the 4th at 9 in the morning, all the commanders of the war vessels came aboard the commanding ship, and the General informed them of his project of proceeding to the Island of Santa Rosa, disembarking thereon and attacking the battery the enemy had on Siguenza Point, so as to facilitate the entry of our ships in the Port, without the risk of passing through a cross fire, and there await the reinforcements from Louisiana and Mobile. All the officers of the Fleet applauded this thought and some amongst them earnestly solicited the honor of entering first. At 10 o'clock eleven vessels were sighted to windward, which were chased until nightfall, and by their direction they seemed to be making Tortugas Sound, and were thought to be a convoy of provisions that was expected from Vera Cruz.

On the 5th at 6 o'clock in the evening, the brig Galveztown which had left Havana on the 2nd incorporated itself to the squadron.

On the 9th at 6 in the morning land was sighted and a little while after it was recognized to be the Island of Santa Rosa; at eight o'clock a few cannon shots were heard, from which was inferred the proximity of the Port of Pensacola.

At 2 in the afternoon the General called to quarters and disposed that all the troops find themselves ready to disembark that night and that each soldier should carry three days ration; it being well understood that the grenadiers and light infantry should be the first to disembark, and that they should pass by the stern of the ship S. Ramon, when two lights should appear thereon. At the hour of Prayer the convoy came to anchor at a distance of one cannon shot from shore and three leagues to windward from the mouth of the Port.

At eight o'clock at night the signal was placed on the commanding ship so that the boats with troops should gather there, and the General having placed himself at their head, the landing was effected with some misgivings, but without the least opposition. He gave his orders to Colonel D. Francisco Longoria to take up the march with the grenadiers and light infantry and returned to the ship to hasten the final disembarking, so that by 3 o'clock in the morning of the 10th all the troops were marching in column formations by the sea on the shore of the referred to Island.

The first landing party arrived at Siguenza Point at half past

past five in the morning, where they did not find the Fort they thought was there, but only three dismounted cannons and a partly demolished breastwork of fascines that the enemy not knowing how to utilize, had abandoned. A while later two boats with seven men were seen to come landwards near that part, and the light infantry made these prisoners. The Fort that is on Barrancas-Coloradas, opposite Siguenza and about 500 fathoms away and the two English frigates anchored nearby, observed this, and began a lively fire on our troops, without occasioning the slightest mishap, because the land furnished several small hills that served as shelters, and, besides, some earth was thrown up, for better protection.

The prisoners declared to the General that the place was well provided with provisions and troops and that from day to day a considerable re-inforcement was expected from Jaimaca.

On the 10th at 11 o'clock in the morning the convoy changed anchorage nearer the port; that afternoon the General reconnoitered several times that part of the Island facing the town for the purpose of selecting a place suitable for the formation of a battery that would damage and keep away the enemy frigates that cannonaded our Camp, and protect the entry of the convoy and squadron, to which effect he ordered the landing of two cannons of 24, two of 8, four of 4, and the corresponding ammunition and 150 campaign tents for the troops.

On the 11th before the break of day the Commander of the squadron ordered parties to sound the bar of the harbor, and a battery of two cannons of 24, in barbets was mounted in front of the Barrancas, and at three thirty began to play on one of the English frigates that had set sail.

At that hour the squadron and convoy weighed anchor for the purpose of entering the Port, and this having been seen by the General he immediately embarked on the ship S. Ramon in order to be in this operation and pass through the risk, but the petitions of its Captain D. Joseph Calbo that he return to land were such that he had to accede. A while after all the convoy had gotten under way it was noticed that the ship S. Ramon had come about and returned to its former anchorage with all the other vessels that followed it, due to the fact that on crossing the bar it touched bottom, so the General was informed by the senior officer of the squadron.

All of the night was employed by the Commander of the ship D. Joseph Calbo in lightening it, until it was left in condition to verify its entry, although then, the weather was not favorable to do this.

On the 12th the weather continued contrary, and the General fearing that possibly if it became worse, the ships would not be able

to maintain themselves in the open roadstead, and that if they were compelled to put to sea the Camp would remain without provisions, ordered that as much as possible be brought, in order to provide against this contingency, and this order was executed with the greatest celerity.

At eight o'clock in the morning the General repaired to the extremity of Point Siguenza to inspect some work being done there and at two o'clock in the afternoon went on board of the *S. Ramon* to discuss the advisability of sending the frigates into the port at the head of the convoy, and the ship should do so after, for if it again went ashore, the other vessels would not be detained as on the preceeding afternoon; but the naval officers having objected and pointed out certain difficulties he returned to land, and wrote to the Commander of the *S. Ramon* stating how necessary it was to gain the channel at once in order to avoid the risk of a storm, of the frequent ones on that coast, which would force the convoy to separate itself and leave the army abandoned; for which motive he advised him that he could already count upon the aid of 6 cannons of 24, which had already been emplaced on the point of the Island opposite that of the enemy.

Upon the advice received that same afternoon, that a few enemy boats had crossed the canal that forms the Island of Santa Rosa and separates it from the mainland, a force of grenadiers and light infantry advanced towards the place to reconnoiter and cut off the enemies' retreat if any disembarked.

On the 13th the landing of provisions and supplies continued, the General always fearing that the delays in forcing the port would oblige the convoy to set sail on account of the frequent and dreaded southwesters. However, on the same day he received a letter from the Commander of the sea forces in which he described the great difficulties he found, even after having consulted with the officers of his squadron, in risking the vessels under his command, for he lacked the indispensable information regarding the depth of water and direction of the channel; he had no pilots, and understood the enemy fires could rake his ships fore and aft, without the possibility of these being able to answer theirs to advantage.

At three in the afternoon he ordered his Aide de Camp, D. Esteban Miro to proceed to Mobile with verbal instructions for Colonel D. Joseph Ezpeleta, in order to combine a reciprocal union of troops with advantage on the enemy.

On the 14th the landing of provisions continued, although with great difficulty on account of the surf and the General commissioned the Captain of the brig *Galveztown*, to sound the interior of the harbor during the night so as to know exactly the depth of the water.

On the 15th the sea made it extremely difficult for the boats to approach land, and with immense labor it was possible to disembark some vegetables and salt meat which they brought.

At 2 o'clock in the afternoon an English storeship was discovered under sail in the interior of the Port, which situated itself between the two frigates and out of the range of our cannon. At the same hour a battery of two cannons of 8 was placed near the one that had been formed by two others of 24.

On the 16th at 8 o'clock in the morning there arrived from Mobile the sloop commanded by the Lieutenant of frigate D. Juan Riano with letters from Colonel Ezpeleta, in which he advised the General that he was going to march with 900 men up to the shores of the River "de los Perdidos" distant five leagues from Pensacola, and to pass to the other shore he required that a few launches be sent to him. This officer, as soon as he arrived on the Coast, presented himself to the Commander of the Squadron, who upon learning his mission sent the following communication to the General:

"Dear Sir: The moment D. Juan Riano informed me that the army from Mobile found itself on the shores of the "los Perdidos" River, I ordered that the armed launches be provided with ten days food, and in order that they shall lack for nothing, I have provided to supply a few more from this ship."

"I will also order the Pío that draws less water, that it go and cover this small expedition as close to land as possible, to free it from any vessel that attempts to oppose it, as also to provide Sr. Ezpeleta a few cannons and provisions if he should need them.

"I am of the opinion, if your honor desires to make use of it, that the expedition start early, just after nightfall, so as not to draw the attention of the enemies, for they may come out and make some inconvenient opposition, but this matter you will do what appears best to you."

"I have elected to direct the launches, my second in command, the Captain of Frigate, D. Andres Valderrma, and the first Lieutenant of ship, D. Antonio Estrada, who carry pilots, a compass and a pilot's mate. God keep your honor many years. On board the ship S. Ramon, at anchor near the coast of the Island of Santa Rosa, 16th of March, 1781. Your most faithful servant kisses the hand of your honor.—Joseph Calbo de Irazabal.—Sr. Bernardo Galvez."

The General's Reply.

"Dear Sir: All that you tell me in your communication of today regarding your dispositions to help the troops from Mobile appear to me well, and I remain praying God to keep you many years. Camp

of Santa Rosa, March 16th, 1781.—Bernardo de Galvez.—Sr. D. Joseph Calvo.”

On the 17th at 11 in the morning the sloop of the mentioned Don Juan Riano situated itself at the entrance of the Harbor of Pensacola, accompanied by the brig Galveztown and the two small gunboats, at four o'clock in the afternoon, sub-lieutenant D. Miguel Herrera arrived with letters from Colonel Ezpeleta to the General advising him that he was marching with his troops to unite himself with him.

The General having recognized that there was too much delay in deciding upon the entry of the squadron and convoy, and fearing that a strong wind might compel it to make sail so as not to wreck itself upon the shore, thus leaving the troops abandoned on the Island without means of subsistence, determined to be the first one to force the harbor, in the conviction that this last resort would stimulate the others to follow him; and in effect, on the afternoon of the 18th at half past two he embarked in an open boat to go on board of the brig Galveztown that was anchored at the mouth of the harbor of Pensacola, and after having hoisted a broad penant, this ship made the corresponding salute and set sail followed by two armed launches and by the sloop commanded by Dn. Juan Riano, these being the only vessels under his private orders. The Barrancas Fort fired as much as possible, particularly on the Galveztown, for they could not ignore that the General was in it on account of the ensign it flew; but, in spite of its efforts, the vessel entered the harbor without the least harm notwithstanding the great number of bullets that pierced sails and shrouds, and with the extraordinary applause of the army, who with continuous cheers demonstrated to the General its delight and loyalty to him.

Upon seeing this the squadron determined to make its entry on the following day with the exception of the ship, S. Ramon, that had been ballasted.

On the 19th at 2 in the afternoon the convoy set sail, preceeded by the King's frigate, and it took an hour from the time the first ships began to suffer from the extraordinary fire of Red-Cliff Fort on the Barancas, until the last one found itself free from it, and, notwithstanding the damage done to the ships, there were no personal losses. During this time the General went in his gig among the ships in order to furnish them any help they might need.

At 5 o'clock the General determined to pass in a yawl to the river “de los Perdidos” in order to acquaint Ezpeleta personally of his intentions. For this purpose he embarked with his aides and went out of the harbor stating that the same probability existed for going

as for coming in; but the contrary winds and the equally contrary currents obliged him to return to the Camp at 11 o'clock at night.

On the 20th in the morning he commissioned an officer to go to Pensacola with a letter for General Campbell, couched in these terms:

"Most Excellent, my dear sir: The English in Havana intimated with threats that none of the ships or buildings of the King and private parties be destroyed, burned or torn down under pain of being treated with the utmost rigor. The same warning I give to your Excellency and others whom it may concern with the same conditions. God keep your Excellency many years. Camp of the Island of Sta. Rosa, March 20, 1781. Most Excellent Sir. Your most attentive servant kisses your Excellency's hands.—Bernardo de Galvez.—Most Excellent Sir,—Juan Campbell."

In the afternoon the General went in a boat to examine the beach opposite the harbor in order to select a suitable landing place for the troops that had to operate.

At eight o'clock at night the enemies set fire to a Guard-house situated on the beach where the General had made his examination during the afternoon; upon seeing this he ordered that the sloop commanded by Don Juan Riano and the armed launch from the Galveztown should approach land and fire with grape shot upon the enemies who might be there.

Very early on the 21st an officer, commissioned therefor, arrived from Pensacola and delivered to the General a letter from Campbell couched in the following terms:

"Most Excellent sir: My dear sir: The threats of the enemy who assail us are not considered under any other aspect than as an artifice or stratagem of war, which he makes use of to further his own purpose. I trust that in my defense of Pensacola (seeing that I am attacked) I will do nothing contrary to rules and customs of war; for I consider myself under obligations to your Excellency for your frank intimation, although I assure you that my conduct will depend rather on your own, in reply to the propositions Governor Chester will send you tomorrow regarding prisoners, and mine relative to the City of Pensacola, than upon your threats. In the meantime I remain your Excellency's most obedient servant, John Campbell. Headquarters Pensacola, March 20, 1781.—Most Excellent sir, Bernardo de Galvez."

At noon there arrived from Pensacola under a flag of truce one of General Campbell's aides de camp with letters from the former and Governor Chester to Sr. Galvez, and accompanied by Colonel

Alexander Dickson, who remained a prisoner after the capture of Baton Rouge and resided in Pensacola under parole.

Copy of General Campbell's Letter.

"My dear sir: Humanity dictating as far as possible the preservation of innocent individuals from the cruelties and devastations of war, and it being evident that the garrison of Pensacola cannot defend without the total destruction of the City, and therefore the ruin of a great number of its inhabitants; and desiring also to preserve the city and garrison for the victor, to which I must acquiesce in the hope that the palm of victory will fall upon the troops that I have the honor to command, I have abandoned the garrison of Pensacola; but knowing that the conservation of the city and its buildings depends of your Excellency and myself, or (in other words) that at the present moment it is within the power of both of us to destroy them or no, I propose to your Excellency, that the mentioned City and buildings be preserved entirely without malicious harm by both parties during the siege of the Royal Marine redoubts, Fort George and others adjacent thereto, where I propose to dispute the conservation of western Florida to the British Crown, under the following stipulations."

"That neither the City nor buildings of Pensacola, nor any part or portion of it, will be occupied or employed by any of the parties, to attack, preserve or defend themselves, nor for any other purpose whatever, but that it shall be an asylum for the sick, women and children, who may remain there without malicious injuries, harm or molestation on the part of the English, Spanish troops, or their allies."

"But in case this, my proposition, is not admitted by your Excellency and that some portion of the City or its buildings are occupied by troops under your orders, then it will be my obligation to impede that it serve as a shelter or hiding place, by destroying both, and if I saw myself compelled to take this cruel determination your Excellency will be the only one responsible before God and man, for the calamities and misfortunes that such an act would bring. However, the experience we have of your conduct and sentiments, removes the horror of such an idea, and promises me that you will concur in the mentioned propositions. Headquarters, Pensacola, March 21, 1781. Most Excellent sir, Your Most attentive servitor kisses your Excellency's hand.—John Campbell. His Excellency D. Bernardo de Galvez."

The General's Reply.

"Most Excellent Sir: My dear sir: My health not permitting

me to reply to the letter which under this date your Excellency has remitted to me, I have requested Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Dickson to inform you of my opinion, whilst tomorrow I shall do so in writing. God keep your Excellency many years. Camp of Santa Rosa, March 21st, 1781. Most Excellent Sir, Your most attentive servant kisses your Excellency's hand.—Bernardo de Galvez. His Excellency, D. Juan Campbell."

Letter From Governor Peter Chester.

"Most Excellent Sir: My dear sir: As we lack barracks within our lines, for the accommodation of the Spanish prisoners we have in order not to expose their health and subject them to various hardships, and stimulated by principle of humanity, I have determined to propose to your Excellency, that they be set at liberty under their word of honor, and on condition that your Excellency will bind himself that they shall not serve against H. Britannic M. nor any of his allies, in any capacity whatever, either civil or military during the present discussion or at any time until they be exchanged for other subjects of Great Britain or her allies who may be prisoners. God keep you many years. Most Excellent sir, Your attentive servant kisses your Excellency's hand,—Peter Chester. Pensacola, March 21st, 1781. His Excellency D. Bernarda de Galvez."

Another From the Same Party.

"Most Excellent sir, My dear sir: As the protection and security of women and children against the calamities of war have always been looked upon by cultured nations as the primary object, I believe myself excused from taking other steps than informing you that those depending on this City and surrounding country will remain quietly in their homes, for which I trust that your generous and humane sentiments will prompt you to give positive orders to the troops and seamen belonging to Spain or in alliance with her, that they shall not increase the misfortunes of these non-combatants, their families and goods. God keep your Excellency many years. Pensacola, March 21st, 1781. Most Excellent sir, Your attentive servant kisses your Excellency's hand,—Peter Chester. His Excellency Sr. D. Bernardo de Galvez."

The General's Reply.

"Most Excellent sir, My dear sir: I have received your Excellency's two letters under date of today, in which you make the propositions that the prisoners of war be set at liberty and that the women and children remain in the City of Pensacola, hoping your

Excellency that on my part I will give the most rigorous orders to the troops and sailors in the expedition under my command, that should not cause them the least extortion.

"The co-incidence of finding myself a trifle ill deprives me of the satisfaction of replying to your Excellency upon said particulars; but I have, however, requested Lieutenant Colonel Dickson to explain to your Excellency my way of thinking until tomorrow when I shall give you my reply in writing. God keep your Excellency many years. Camp of Santa Rosa, 21 of March, 1781. Most Excellent Sir, Your most attentive servant kisses your Excellency's hand,—Bernardo de Galvez. His Excellency Peter Chester."

At the time that the General wrote the mentioned letters, he instructed Dickson as to his views regarding the propositions Campbell and Chester had made to him, in order that he advise them until the next morning when he would do so properly and in writing. At three in the afternoon he ordered the grenadiers, who were encamped on that part of the Island facing the harbor to form in battle array; and that the other troops also opposite the harbor should move upon a small hill that would make them visible, so that Lieutenant Colonel Dickson could if he wished, inform General Campbell as to the class and number of troops that he (Galvez) commanded. After this the General embarked in his gig with Dickson and went on board the frigate *Sta. Clara* to speak with General Campbell's aide de camp who was on board by orders of the General; he went with both in the gig until it appeared to him opportune to leave them go back to Pensacola and he returned to the Camp near the hour of prayer.

During the night several houses near Fort Barancas were seen to burn, and this procedure displeased the General greatly, for to avoid all conflagrations he had warned General Campbell, as is seen in his letters.

On the 22nd at half past nine in the morning, Colonel Ezpeleta was seen, marching with his troops on the opposite shore inside the harbor, the General going with 500 men, including the grenadiers to re-inforce him, and thus allow Ezpeleta's troops to rest; and after having communicated his orders to Camp he returned to the Island, having before doing this dispatched a flag of truce to Pensacola with the following letters:

"Most Excellent Sir, My dear sir: At the time we are reciprocally making one another the same propositions, for both of us aimed at the conservation of the goods and property of the individuals of Pensacola, at the same time, I say, the insult of burning the houses facing my Camp on the other side of the bay is committed before my very eyes. This fact tells of the bad faith with which you work

and write, as also the conduct observed with the people from Mobile, a great many of whom have been victims of the horrible cruelties protected by your Excellency; all proves that your expressions are not sincere, that humanity is a phrase that although you repeat it on paper, your heart does not know, that your intentions are to gain time to complete the destruction of Western Florida; and I, who am indignant at my own credulity and the noble manner in which it is pretended to halucinate me, must not, nor do I wish to hear, other propositions than those of surrender, assuring your Excellency, that as it will not be my fault, I shall see Pensacola burn with the same indifference, that I shall see its cruel incendiaries perish upon its ashes. God keep your Excellency many years. Island of Sta. Rosa, March 22, 1781. Most Excellent Sir, Your most attentive servitor kisses your Excellency's hand,—Bernardo de Galvez. His Excellency John Campbell."

Letter to Governor Chester.

"Most Excellent Sir, My dear sir: I regret very much that since yesterday circumstances have so varied, that now I cannot, nor must not reply to the propositions regarding prisoners and families which your Excellency made me in his communications; if, as is natural, the fate of these interests you, treat with General Campbell, for all depends of the good or bad conduct he observes. I, personally, am a servitor of your Excellency and desire that God keep you many years. Camp of the Sta. Rosa, March 22, 1781. Most Excellent Sir, Your most attentive servitor kisses your Excellency's hand,—Bernardo de Galvez. His Excellency Peter Chester."

"P. D.—I enclose for your Excellency's information a copy of the letter I am writing to General Campbell."

During the afternoon the King's packet, the S. Pio, that had just returned from the vicinity of the "de los Perdidos" River to protect the launches in which the people from Mobile were destined to cross from one shore to another, entered the harbor. The Barrancas Fort fired as briskly as possible but without causing it or any of the four boats that followed any damage whatever.

At eight o'clock at night, the officer commissioned to carry the letters addressed to Campbell returned to the Camp with the following reply:

"My dear sir: The imperious style your Excellency uses in his letters of today far from producing its evident purpose of intimidating, has made me resolve more than ever to oppose the ambitious undertaking Spain has placed under your command, by making all the destruction possible, and in this I will only comply with my

obligation to my King and country, a far more powerful motive than your anger."

"The officer in command of Fort Barrancas-Coloradas, has the order to defend that post to the last extremity; If he has deprived the enemy who now assails us of a shelter, or vantage point for his attacks, he has fulfilled his duty, besides not having molested women and children nor private property.

"I repeat to your Excellency that if he uses the City of Pensacola for his attacks on Fort George or to shelter his troops I have resolved to execute all I have communicated to you.

"Insofar as the observations more immediately connected with me are concerned, as I believe them unmerited, I despise them. God keep your Excellency many years. Headquarters, Pensacola, March 22, 1781. Most Excellent Sir, Your most attentive servitor kisses your Excellency's hand, John Campbell,—Most Excellent Sir, Bernardo de Galvez."

That same night all the troops slept encamped on the shore that faces the Harbor, in order to be ready to pass more quickly to the opposite side where those from Mobile were.

The morning of the 23rd was taken up in the preparation of rafts to send the artillery on the opposite shore, together with tents and ammunition. At 9 o'clock sails were seen on the horizon and immediately they were believed to be the convoy from New Orleans. At four in the afternoon it entered the harbor, without the least loss, excepting unimportant damage to the sails, and that in spite of the fire from Barrancas. The Convoy consisted of 16 vessels, with 1400 men, cannons and ammunition; but three more vessels were missing, that had become separated the night before.

The General issued the necessary orders, so that not only the troops on the ships but also those that found themselves on the Island of Santa Rosa should be in readiness to cross to the mainland on the following morning, in order to unite themselves with those already there.

This same day Colonel Ezpeleta with the Quartermaster, explored the outer harbor in order to move the Camp nearer the City.

On the 24th the General ordered all the troops encamped on the Island of Sta. Rosa to embark on the merchant ships to be transferred by sea to the place selected for the establishment of the Camp on the mainland, in order to besiege Fort George and the others adjacent thereto, which was carried out at four o'clock in the afternoon with exception of 200 men who were left occupying the Island.

On the morning of the 25th two English sailors, deserters from Barancas, arrived at the Camp, and informed the General of the

condition of the fort and its forces. This same morning a party of ambushed Indians, surprised the soldiers who had gone beyond the lines of the outposts, killed and wounded a few, committing their usual cruelty of scalping the bodies of their victims, and others besides.

At noon Lieutenant Colonel Dickson arrived at the Camp, with his baggage and a few English prisoners who resided in Pensacola until they should be called.

On the 26th at the hour of prayer the army took up the march, so as to cut off the point of the outer harbor and come out on the beach and also for the purpose of surprising some Indians and teaching them a lesson. The march through five leagues of impenetrable woods, sown with Indians, was very difficult, and in the obscurity and thickness two parties of soldiers who were going to a given point by different roads had the misfortune of reciprocally mistaking themselves for enemies and firing on one another with the result that several were killed and wounded.

On the 27th the General had the inner harbor explored, which was done in spite of the fire of parties of Indians. At one o'clock in the afternoon Councilor Stibenson arrived from Pensacola, under a flag of truce, with propositions from Governor Chester.

The troops having occupied a spot which was judged suitable to establish them in, the General ordered the troops to encamp, and that the provisions and necessary material for that purpose be brought from the merchant vessels. At 10 o'clock at night a few parties of Indians ambushed near the Camp directed themselves towards the Camp fires made by the soldiers, fired suddenly on these, killing some and wounding others; on this account the Camp was ordered entrenched, and that a few battalion cannons be disembarked, in order to use them with grape shot on the Indians whenever they approached.

On the 28th at noon and after the General had already agreed with Commissioner Stibenson the mutual observance of certain articles referring to the security of the Town of Pensacola, three Spanish sailors, prisoners, who had managed to escape, arrived and reported that they and their companions had been ill-treated by the English, and on this account the General became angry and despatched Stibenson, refusing to agree to any proposition.

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon a multitude of about 400 Indians, approached the Camp and opened a brisk fire on the advanced guards, but the white and colored militia from New Orleans went out and a few cannons were brought up, by which means it was possible to make them withdraw for the time being, but at midnight they again attacked the camp from different points and whilst they

were repulsed our troops suffered a few losses in killed and wounded.

On the 29th a launch was sent to Mobile with orders for the ships that were there with artillery and ammunition destined to the Expedition, to set sail immediately.

The General having decided to move the Camp closer to Pensacola, the reshipment of all the field-artillery, supplies and material was ordered, their transportation by land being very difficult.

He ordered the Companies of grenadiers, infantry and other light troops to prepare themselves to march at day-break, and that after the beach of the inner harbor had been occupied by this corps, the rest of the army should disembark in launches and incorporate itself without fear of being attacked.

On the 30th at 5 o'clock in the morning, the General placed himself at the head of this column of 1100 men, with two field pieces, and in passing through a defile the scouting parties advised that there were Indians ambushed in the vicinity; for this reason he ordered a halt should be made and that they be fired on with a cannon, by which means they were put to flight.

At half past 10 o'clock the General arrived with the column to occupy the beach he had proposed to occupy which is situated within a cannon shot of Fort George, without interference from the enemy. The troops having taken possession of this ground, outposts and sentinels were placed in all the avenues, and all other precautions dictated by prudence and art were taken to better insure safety; and at the same time a message was sent to Colonel Ezpeleta to embark with the rest of the troops and come and incorporate himself into the new camp.

The General afterwards went on board the frigate Clara, to discuss the establishments of Hospitals, and that the ships advance as near as possible to the Camp of the troops.

At one o'clock in the afternoon the rest of the army began to arrive, and shortly afterwards firing was heard from the outposts, occasioned by a party of Indians who had approached; on this account and because the firing increased greatly, it was determined that the light troops set out for the time being to support the outposts, and that the others should advance also to form in battle array and occupy a plain, from which they could be moved with greater facility should the enemy attempt a sortie. A short time after it was seen that in effect troops were coming out of Fort George, and that the fire from the Indians had increased extraordinarily, all of which having been duly noted by Ezpeleta, he ordered that the wings of the army should prolong themselves to a certain distance in order to cut off the enemies' retreat in case they should abandon the field, but the

purpose of these was no other than to support the Indians and attack us with two field pieces they had brought to fire on us with solid shot.

In these circumstances the General arrived, and seeing that the troops engaged were surrounded on all sides by a class of enemies whose real advantage consists in never coming out from the cover of the woods, adopted the plan to attack them with a few companies of light infantry, and with the assistance of two field pieces, this maneuver not only obliged the Indians to retire precipitately, but also compelled the English troops who supported them to retire to the shelter of Fort George, so that at seven o'clock in the evening, the army was already turning up earth to entrench itself, its right wing resting on a house near the beach and its left on the point of the inner harbor. This afternoon there were several killed and wounded, among these the Colonel of the King's Regiment, who died the following day, and two sub-altern officers.

As the General had ordered the landing of the field-artillery, six cannons were immediately placed on the left and two others on the right so as to make use of them if the enemy attacked during the night.

On the 31st the General went to the above mentioned house to observe the City and land in its vicinity, and the troops employed the day in perfecting the trench and erecting some tents that had been apportioned by Companies.

At seven o'clock at night a deserter from the Maryland Regiment arrived with the report that General Campbell planned another sortie like the one of the day before, and that in the City there were 600 equipped troops, 300 sailors, many armed negroes, and a large number of Indians encamped under the shelter of Fort George.

On the first of April at eight o'clock in the morning the Quartermaster set out with a detachment of 500 men to explore a height near the forts of the enemy and a little while after a contingent of about 250 English troops were seen, which maintained itself in observation until the detachment retired.

At three o'clock in the afternoon the General went in his gig to explore the Fort and vicinity of the town of Pensacola, and a little while after three deserters from the Waldek Regiment arrived, but these had nothing to add to what had already been said by the first one. During all this day the troops busied themselves in clearing the woods around the Camp in order to deprive the Indians of this means of sheltering themselves.

At two o'clock in the morning eight deserters from various Regiments arrived with more or less the same reports the others had

made, and at ten the Quartermaster set out to mark the spot of the new camp nearer the place the General had selected to establish his batteries.

At one o'clock in the afternoon two more deserters arrived and reported that General Campbell had determined to open fire of his Forts on our Camp at three o'clock of the same; in view of this the General ordered that two-thirds of the army with their arms and accoutrements should join the Quartermaster in order to help on the trench, cautioning that all the tents be left up, so that the enemy should not know the intention.

At prayer time, the rest of the army retired also, the tents were folded, and the cannons were conducted to the new Camp, and 110 men left occupying the house called Nihil, until further orders.

The troops spent the night quietly without being molested by the enemy. At seven o'clock in the morning an English schooner set sail in the interior of the Harbor, and having seen this, two launches from the war ships and one from the brig Galveztown set out and captured it without opposition.

On the third the General ordered the 110 men who had been left at the Nihil house to retire and that two companies of light infantry go near there daily to protect desertion, and that the launches with provisions and other property of the army should always come by the creek of the inner harbor which protected his rear, inasmuch as there was sufficient water to facilitate transportation.

In the afternoon the General ordered the Royal Navy to take four English ships that had been abandoned and were at anchor near the town, among these there was one frigate of war called Port Royal with 60 Spanish prisoners on board, and that the brig Galveztown go to the Scambier River to do the same with several schooners, also abandoned, and which had been reported by deserters.

At four in the morning, Colonel Ezpeleta again went out with the Quartermaster to examine the hill from which it was planned to attack Fort George and several workmen were engaged to lay out the Camp, thus avoiding that the Indians should ambush themselves and molest us.

On the 5th, the chiefs of the Talapuz Nation arrived at the Camp; the General listened to their mission and it was agreed that they should supply the camp with fresh meat.

The clearing of the woods was continued during the morning and afternoon and it was decided as an urgent measure to construct two redoubts on the creek of the inner harbor so as to protect the launches from the attacks of the Indians who fired on them from various places.

At midnight they approached the Camp and fired, and we had an officer wounded in his tent.

At 6 o'clock in the morning the General went with the Quartermaster and several Engineers to examine the above mentioned hill, and select another closer place for the establishment of the camp.

During the day the troops continued to clear the woods and began to haul the ammunition which was being landed.

At seven o'clock in the morning it was reported to the General that the brig Galveztown had captured a polacre and three schooners near the River Scambier, and a Lieutenant from the Maryland Regiment presented himself to the General asking to serve under his orders, for having become involved with his Captain he left the English service, and was walking towards Georgia when he heard of our arrival.

Through this officer and several deserters the General learned that the Indians were retiring; that they busied themselves in robbing the houses of the inhabitants and in burning all those they could in the country that several terrified families had asked permission to embark in the brig Galveztown, and that Mr. Deans, Captain of the British Royal Navy's frigate Mentor, had burned his ship to avoid its capture by the Spaniards.

On this same morning the General dispatched the Talapuz Chiefs on a mission to the Indians of the English faction, to persuade them not to take part either on one side or the other during this war, and to bring all the cattle they could.

In the afternoon work was begun on the two redoubts of the inner harbor in such a way that their fire would be flanking, so as to keep the Indians as far away as possible.

On the 8th the General wrote to Mobile so that a few Indians from the tribes most friendly to Spain should come for the purpose of persuading those who still continued attacking the Camp to retire, and for the purpose also of employing them in bringing all the cattle they could.

On the morning of the ninth Councilor Stibenson arrived at the Camp under a flag of truce, sent by Governor Chester to inform the General that a detachment of English troops in the City of Pensacola was there only for the purpose of protecting it against the daily disorders of the Indians and to avoid conflagrations.

In the afternoon he received a letter from the same Chester advising that he had liberated 11 Spanish prisoners he still had.

A deserter also arrived, who said that the defenses of Fort George were being daily strengthened and that a detachment of 300 Creek Indians had just arrived.

At 10 o'clock a soldier from the Louisiana Regiment deserted, and another from the Regiment of the Prince was shot for insubordination to his Sergeant.

At 2 o'clock in the afternoon the Quartermaster set out to select a place for a new Camp, nearer to where it was desired to attack, and on this same day the redoubts were finished with four cannons each, and the Navy took charge of its defense.

On the 11th a deserter arrived and said that the one who passed over to the enemy had informed General Campbell that the army consisted of 3000 men, etc. That this General expected a re-inforcement of Indians and considerable help from Jaimaca and had written the day before to Georgia, requesting assistance to throw us out of the country.

On the 12th, at six o'clock in the morning, the Camp was moved to the above mentioned place and the troops endeavored to entrench themselves as best they could; upon the angles that faced the avenues several field pieces were placed, and a redoubt was begun in order to occupy ground that guaranteed the safety of the Camp. During all this maneuver the enemy did not fire, but at one o'clock opened with several elevated shots at us from Fort George.

At four o'clock the outposts reported that several divisions were coming out of the Fort probably to attack us from different points. A while after several parties of Indians advanced and fired on the companies of light infantry that defied them; the General ordered that another go to their support with instructions not to intern themselves in the wood on account of the advantage this gave the Indians as had been learned by previous experience.

Our light infantry replied to the fire of the Indians and English troops that supported them with the greatest firmness; but seeming to the General that a continuation of this would compel him to fight too long, he ordered the companies to retire to the protection of the nearest battery and that the enemy be fired upon with grape shot whenever he approached.

A quarter of an hour after the General was advised that the enemies were approaching from three different points with two small cannons, for which reason he advanced to explore the place to which they seemed to be going in order to cut off their retreat; and having arrived at one of the advanced batteries a bullet struck him which went through one of the fingers of his left hand and furrowed his abdomen, and having retired to his tent to allow the surgeons to bind his wounds, he ordered Major-General Ezpeleta to take command on his own account and in his (Galvez's name), and to order whatever

necessary to execute promptly, until his wounds permitted him to again supervise all things.

Those of our batteries that had begun firing continued to do so against the Indians until these were obliged to retire, then it ceased on both sides without further loss to us than one killed and nine wounded.

On the 13th 1000 men were destined to clear the woods around the Camp, work on the redoubt and transport the artillery and material from the former Camp.

On the 14th at six o'clock in the morning, 600 men went out to construct fascines, and work was begun on an excavation which was to serve as a powder magazine.

At four o'clock in the afternoon a deserter from the Maryland Regiment arrived, and after being examined by the General, said among other things that on the afternoon of the 12th, there had been several Indians wounded and an English officer killed.

At eight o'clock a horrible tempest of rain, wind and thunder occurred, which greatly disturbed the Camp on account of its duration. The soldiers' ammunition became useless and for this reason they were ordered to use the bayonet in case the enemy should attempt a sortie, until such time as new ammunition could be provided; most of the tents fell to the ground, including the hospital tent, and the surgeons prognosticated that many of the wounded would die of convulsions, and the fears that this might happen to our General greatly worried everyone.

On the morning of the 13th all work was suspended, so that the soldiers might dry their clothes and put their arms in good conditions.

In the afternoon 700 men were destined to make fascines, and haul the ammunition that now began to arrive, and 66 Indians of the Chastae Nation that the General had asked for in Mobile arrived also, and encamped between the camp and the redoubt which had just been finished.

There also arrived a deserter from the Cavalry who reported that Fort George had suffered some slight damage from the storm and that the English troops would desert every time opportunity offered.

On the morning of the 17th, a company of the light infantry of Navarra, captured a courier with several official and private letters for the Commandant of the Red-Cliff's Fort. In one of these General Campbell assured that Admiral Rowley would send him considerable help, that his troops would defend themselves to the last extremity, and that whilst there was some desertion, far from this causing him any anxiety it augmented his confidence, for those truly soldiers re-

mained, and that besides the arrival of the Creek Indians, he expected considerable re-inforcements from other friendly nations.

The construction of fascines and the carting of ammunition was continued by the troops during all of this day.

On the 18th, a settee and a brig from Havana entered the harbor with provisions, without the fire from Red-Clift's causing them any loss. From the papers they brought for the General was learned the joyful news that his father, the President of Guatemala, had dislodged the English from the Castle of Nicaragua, and to celebrate this the General ordered that the heavy artillery in the Camp fire a triple salute, and the same thing was communicated to the Navy.

This same day the Engineers went to explore the crescent battery of the salient of Fort George without the enemy noticing it, and three deserters who arrived ratified the report that on the same day the army had broken camp near the Nihil house General Campbell had planned to fire on it with forty cannons, and several howitzers and mortars.

At eleven o'clock at night there was some firing from the Indians against the outposts, without any except very slight damage.

On the morning of the 19th another exploration of the crescent battery was made, and measurements taken of the distance from it to the place best suited to reduce it, and this new exploration was indispensable as we had no exact plans, and the country was wooded and each step was a risk and a clash with the Indians.

At two o'clock the General was informed that fourteen vessels some of them ships of war were in sight, which caused a great deal of preoccupation as it was deemed likely to be the help the enemy expected.

At four o'clock it was reported to him twenty-one were in sight and that they seemed to be Spanish, but as he had received no news in the mail from Havana which had arrived the day before, nor had he asked for help, his preoccupation increased, and in order to remove all doubts at once, he ordered a commissioned officer to repair to the bay and report on the matter so as to provide for it.

At eight o'clock this officer returned and affirmed that the Chiefs of Squadron D. Joseph Solano and Mr. Monteill were near the Island of Santa Rosa with 15 ships, 3 frigates, and other vessels and a landing party of 1600 men under the command of the Field Marshall D. Juan Manuel Cagigall, to reinforce the army.

On the morning of the 20th, the Adjutants of the Squadron came to the Camp to inform the General that, advices having been received in Havana that 8 English ships, several transports and frigates had been sighted from Cape San Antonio, it was presumed

that this might be the relief expedition for Pensacola, and that thus our attempt might fail, for which reason the Council of Generals had determined to embark the said troops on the referred to ships.

The two adjutants in the names of Sr. Solano and Mr. Monteill were also commissioned to offer the assistance of the artillery troops and crews of their ships, to which the General acquiesced in order that they also might share in the glory of this conquest. They also told the General that the frigate "Francesca la Andromaca" had stranded near the coast, and that in order to float it, they had seen themselves compelled to throw several cannons into the sea.

This day was employed in making fascines and in carting the artillery and war munitions.

On the 21st the heavy sea did not permit the disembarking of troops, but several schooners were destined to receive them at the ships' sides.

During the afternoon the French cutter "Serpent" entered the harbor with field marshal D. Juan Manuel Cagigal and Don Francisco Saavedra on board, who immediately went to see the General and remained with him. Red-Cliffs fired sixteen cannon shots at the cutter as it entered but not one hit the hull or rigging. That same afternoon the squadron came to anchor in 7 fathoms of water about half a league from land as so to be in readiness for the landing of the troops which began to take place at night.

On the morning of the 22nd, Field Marshall Cagigal, the Major-General and the Quartermaster went out to examine the point of attack of the crescent battery, and being discovered by the enemy they were fired upon with cannon and compelled to retire.

On this same morning two companies of French light infantry, and those of the artillery of the same nation, entered the camp and were assigned a camping place.

During the rest of the day other troops of the Army and Navy, with their officers began to arrive and a place was assigned to them; and so that all services should be rendered with due exactitude the General ordered that the army be formed into four Brigades, the first under command of Brigadier D. Geronimo Giron, another under command of Colonel D. Manuel Pineda, another one under command of Colonel D. Francisco Longoria, the fourth under the command of the Capitan of ship D. Felipe Lopez Carrizosa, and the French Division under command of the Capitan of Ship Mr. de Boiderout.

On the 23rd at 10 o'clock in the morning the Quartermaster went out with a detachment of light infantry to survey the parallel lines of the crescent batteries, and this operation being observed by the enemy a brisk fire was begun on the detachment.

At noon a deserter arrived and reported that General Campbell thought of establishing a new provisional battery on one side of the crescent, and that very night the garrison slept on their arms as a surprise was feared.

On the morning of the 24th, Brigadier Giron went with two engineers to the place where the two new batteries were to be established; but the enemy who soon discovered the companies of light infantry that accompanied them, commenced to fire with cannon, thus enabling a force to come out and support the Indians who already annoyed us with their musketry; the light infantry returned the fire that was made on it with a great deal of firmness, now advancing and now retiring, according to the circumstances; but as the firing continued for quite a time, the General ordered two more companies to go out of the Camp in support of the others. This lasted for more than one hour and in the skirmish we had fifteen soldiers wounded, and although we do not know the losses of the enemy, we do know that several Indians remained dead on the field, besides one who came over to the Camp that same morning.

During the afternoon the Indians accompanied by some troops again annoyed the outposts and after firing for some time retired, having wounded three soldiers. At prayer time all the artillery of Fort George, in the crescent and circle began to salute and a short while after muskets were discharged, without our knowing then the cause of this rejoicing.

On the 25th a few companies of light infantry left the Camp to accompany the Commandant of Artillery and a few French officers who went to inspect the point of attack, and a little while after their arrival there, several Indians fired on them, which was replied to by the light infantry who retreated with five wounded.

At eleven o'clock in the morning, Councilor Stibenson arrived at the Camp under a flag of truce from the Governor of Pensacola, Peter Chester, to treat of several particulars concerning the neutrality of the town; and he said that the salutes of the night before had been to celebrate the recent successes that Lord Cornwallis had obtained against the Americans.

At one in the afternoon a deserter from the Cavalry arrived, exaggerating greatly the forces of the enemy, and, appearing suspicious to the General, the man was ordered aboard ship to be securely kept.

On the 26th at four in the afternoon the engineers set out with five companies of grenadiers and light infantry, to trace the trench that was to be dug that night and to examine the crescent for the last time; but when they had about half finished this operation they

were compelled to stop on account of the many parties of Indians who, sustained by 200 troops commenced to fire on them; our people replied and attacked them with two field pieces they carried, obliging them to retire precipitately to the crescent; but this battery began to fire with heavy artillery and several howitzers preventing for the time being the conclusion of the exploration; nevertheless unequivocal signs were left to distinguish during the night the place where the trench should begin to be dug.

At ten o'clock at night 700 laborers with 300 fascines, sustained by 800 grenadiers and light infantry, set out to begin this work in the said place; to arrive there it was necessary to traverse a thick wood, and the way was made more difficult on account of the great number of trees that had been cut and pits that had been dug from place to place, for which reason, and also because strict silence had to be observed, the march was taken up at a slow pace.

On the 27th, it was already one o'clock and all the troops had not yet been posted at the avenues; the night was dark, with thunder, much lightening and some showers. These considerations and that, that probably the troops would not have time to take to cover before the break of day, was the cause that the work was suspended for the time being, and the troops returned to camp at three o'clock in the morning, leaving two companies of grenadiers posted thereabouts for observation purposes.

After the break of day two companies of light infantry were sent to relieve these, with the order that they prevent the enemy from exploring the ground or removing the signals left for the opening of the trench.

At eight o'clock in the morning two deserters arrived and among the things they told the General, they did not omit to say that the enemy continued to prepare to defend themselves to the last extremity.

At nine o'clock shots were heard in the direction where the light infantry was posted, and at the same time the General was informed that the enemy was cutting trees in front of the crescent, and fearing they might entrench themselves in its shelter and frustrate our plans in those parts, he ordered that four companies with two field pieces should go out immediately, so that in union with the others they might protect the engineers who were again surveying the line; and that once this was accomplished, the cutting of trees was to be prevented and the enemy kept away without exposing the troops too much.

After the engineers had finished their operations without being noticed by the English, the four companies went to the place where

the trees were being cut, and discovered that in effect work had been started on a small parapet, and that two field pieces were already emplaced near a point that our parallel lines followed.

After a while they fired with these, to which we replied briskly with the two we carried and with the musket, and they would have been thrown out of this place had they not found themselves supported by the crescent, that began to throw bombs and royal grenades, until one o'clock in the afternoon when our troops were relieved, having suffered the loss of four dead and twelve wounded. In the afternoon two soldiers from the Louisiana Regiment deserted, for which reason the trench was not dug that night although the orders had been given.

At eleven o'clock at night a deserter arrived at the camp, and on being examined by the General said that in the place there were more than 600 regular troops excluding the sailors, negroes and civilians who took up arms; that the number of Indians was about 400 and that a new battery was being installed to the right of the crescent in order to increase the defense.

On the morning of the 28th, 200 laborers set out to open a street in the woods so that the troops could go to the place where the trench had to be opened, and this same morning two Irish soldiers and a Louisiana corporal deserted.

In the afternoon the same workmen with the necessary tools began to construct a covered road to enable them to go to a small hill where it had been decided to establish a battery so as to divert the fire of Fort George, whilst the premeditated one was effected against the crescent.

At eight o'clock at night 700 laborers with 350 fascines and supported by 800 men left the Camp to carry out this idea.

At eleven o'clock the General was informed that the digging of the trench had begun without this having been noticed by the enemy, and a little later the Quartermaster and the Engineer of the detail arrived and informed the General that all the troops were under cover and that the work advanced rapidly.

On the 29th at four o'clock in the morning the laborers were relieved to perfect the trench and continue the opening of the covered road.

At six o'clock the enemy observed the work that had been done and began to fire cannons and mortars to annoy us; and several parties of them who approached to explore the trench with two field pieces were vigorously repulsed with two others that were placed at the head and tail of it. At half past eleven the fire of the enemy stopped, probably to cool their artillery.

At eight o'clock at night 800 men of arms left the Camp to relieve those in the trench, and 600 to begin the construction of a battery of 6 cannons of 24 and several mortars, that it was proposed to make on a height suitable for the purpose of diverting the enemies fire, whilst another was being constructed closer. 600 men were also destined to continue the trench and to construct two redoubts to the right and left of it for its defense.

At nine o'clock the fire from cannon, howitzers and mortars was renewed, but at some interval.

On the 30th at one o'clock at night the fire of the enemy ceased until day break when it began anew with the greatest rapidity, and whilst it lasted we only suffered the loss of one man, one officer and one soldier seriously wounded.

At seven o'clock a deserter arrived and assured that in the glaxis of Fort George, the construction of a battery of small calibre cannons had begun.

All this day was taken up in widening the trench, perfecting the batteries of cannons and mortars and in finishing the said two redoubts without the enemy firing on us any more.

At eight o'clock at night the men of arms and laborers were relieved and the four mortars were brought to the battery.

At day break on the first of May the enemies began to fire with several cannons, 3 mortars, and 4 howitzers, and this continued without interruption until 10 o'clock in the morning, and from that hour on they still fired but very slowly; but having noticed that work was proceeding on the road that lead from the trench to the battery, they augmented it extraordinarily, to such an extent that the General thought it best to suspend the work.

But the work was kept during the night in spite of the bombs and royal grenades and a battery of six cannons of 24 was emplaced provided with everything necessary.

On the 2nd at half past five in the morning, the enemy again began to annoy us with their fire, and in order to draw their attention the General ordered our cannons to begin, which was kept up until prayer time when the enemies stopped theirs.

During the afternoon the Quartermaster went out with the other engineers to trace the line for the prolongation of the trench so as to occupy Pine Hill, in which place another battery of greater strength was to be constructed to attack the crescent. At eight o'clock at night 800 soldiers and as many laborers left the Camp to begin these new works.

The Quartermaster and Engineer of the detail arrived at midnight to inform the General that the troops were already under cover

and had not been seen by the enemy; they added that work was progressing on the crescent in order to repair the parapet which had been damaged by the fire of our cannon.

On the 3rd at day break, the enemy discovered the new trench situated 225 toises from the first Fort and began to fire mortars and howitzers against the workmen who continued their labors, but our battery replied with such vigor that it silenced the crescent during more than two hours.

At nine o'clock in the morning four deserters arrived and on being examined by the General said that the several bombs that had fallen in the crescent and Fort George had occasioned severe losses and that our cannons had dismounted two of those and at the same time destroyed two merlons that had been repaired the night before.

Our battery fire kept the crescent and circle busy for the rest of the day with its good aim. At prayer time both sides ceased and 800 men of arms left the Camp to relieve those in the trench, and 860 laborers went out to prolong it and form redoubts at its end in order to safeguard it there.

The 4th. Although all night was taken up in working for the conclusion of the trench and construction of the redoubt, the time was not sufficient for the formation of the gun embrasures, so that the soldier could with difficulty fire from the parapet of these works, nor was it possible to remain outside on account of the hail of shot thrown from the crescent.

All the morning the enemy directed a fairly well aimed cannon fire on this part, but particularly at one o'clock they took it up with such vigor with cannister, bombs and grenades that they obliged the troops to use of every means they judged adequate to free themselves. At this moment parties of English troops that had left the crescent without being seen and for that premeditated purpose, attacked the redoubt that was held by a company of the Mallorca grenadiers and half a company of Hibernians. At this juncture the troops although encouraged by their officers, the Captain and Second Lieutenant of Mallorca having been killed, and the First Lieutenant seriously wounded, as also the Captain and Lieutenant of the Hibernians, at the first onslaught retired to the second redoubt where the enemy pursued them with cold steel, but these soon returned to the first one they had captured.

At the first advice of this occurrence the General ordered Colonel Ezpeleta to go with four companies of light infantry and dislodge the enemy; but before this Colonel had time to reach the spot, they had already retired, leaving the trench on fire, four field pieces spiked and besides carrying away the Captain and Lieutenant of the

Hibernians and the officers of the same grade from the Mallorca Regiment, for these being seriously wounded were unable to retire. The losses experimented in this blow were eighteen killed and sixteen wounded, exclusive of the officers.

During the afternoon the trench and redoubt were repaired and four new cannons emplaced; and during the night the enemies directed a fire from mortars and howitzers on this spot.

On the 5th workmen were busied in carrying fascines, cotton bales and sacks to form an embankment in the shelter of which the premeditated battery might be mounted.

During the night four deserters arrived, but they could not tell the General the number of the forces that had attacked the redoubt.

The fire of the enemy was fairly brisk, and from prayer time was entirely directed to the left, which caused the loss of several killed and wounded.

During the night there was a violent tempest of wind, thunder and rain, which flooded all the camp, particularly the trench, for which reason work was suspended; and the squadron found itself compelled to let go its moorings and make sail for fear of being dashed on the shore.

On the morning of the 6th in consideration of the bad night they had passed the General ordered that the troops in the trench be relieved and they be given a ration of grog.

At seven o'clock our battery began to play with particularly good aim on the crescent, but this one occupied itself mostly in annoying the troops on the left to prevent the attacks.

At 9 o'clock two howitzers that had been placed in the redoubt at the tail of the trench began to fire and continued to do so very vigorously during the rest of the day.

At prayer time the firing ceased on both sides, but at nine o'clock the enemy resumed it with bombs and grenades, causing us enough loss.

At 10 o'clock work was begun on an embankment on the redoubt to the left in order to form a shelter behind which a battery of cannons could be made, and the General desiring to shorten the siege and teach the enemy a lesson ordered 700 men of the grenadiers and light infantry to assault the crescent whilst the Fort would be alarmed in such a way as to distract its attention.

On the 7th at one o'clock in the morning the troops set out under command of Brigadier D. Geronimo Giron, with all the necessary equipment to overcome all the obstacles that might be found at the mouth of the crescent; but in order to arrive there without being seen it was necessary to go around a small hill thickly wooded with pine

trees, and day was fast approaching when the troops arrived where they were to halt in order to attack precipitately; as a consequence far from surprising the enemy, it would find it under arms as is usual at this hour. With this knowledge, General Ezpeleta, who found himself in the trench for the purpose of reinforcing Giron if he needed it, advised the General that the execution of this plan having been retarded for the mentioned reason, it would be best to suspend it, as it lacked but little for day-break, upon learning which the General immediately ordered the return of the troops, which was done without the enemy being aware of the movement.

At six o'clock in the morning our left again suffered the fire of the crescent, and it was observed that the loopholes that faced our battery had been covered up, probably to protect themselves from its fire.

At eight o'clock in the morning some of the fascines of the crescent began to burn, but they extinguished them in half an hour.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon work was begun on the projected battery in spite of the fire of the enemy, which work was hurriedly continued during the night.

On the 8th at five o'clock in the morning only the esplanades to emplace the artillery remained to be finished, so that if work was actively pushed these could go into action at noon.

At 6'clock the fire from the crescent was renewed, to which we replied with two howitzers from the redoubts, with such success, that one of our grenades having fired the powder magazine it blew up the crescent with 105 men of the garrison.

When this occurred the General ordered Brigadier Giron with the troops from the trench and General Ezpeleta with several companies of light infantry to go and occupy the ground whilst a column set out from the Camp to fulfill all that was necessary.

After the troops were seen in the above place the middle Fort began to fire with cannister and musketry; but the two howitzers and two cannons having been carried from the redoubt, these were brought up and the enemy's fire vigorously replied to and during this time the troops did the same with muskets under cover of the ruins of the crescent.

The firing continued until three o'clock in the afternoon when Fort George hoisted the white flag and an Adjutant of General Campbell's came to propose a suspension until the following day in order to capitulate. The General went immediately to the place where the officer waited for him, and not having acceded to the suspension, Campbell proposed several articles, some being granted

and others refused. At one o'clock at night both Generals came to an agreement.

On the 9th the capitulation was drawn up in the terms expressed in the annexed note, and signed.

On the 10th at three o'clock in the afternoon six companies of grenadiers and the light infantry of the French Brigade, formed 500 yards from Fort George, and at that distance the General came out with his troops and after having surrendered the flag of the Waldek Regiment and one from the artillery they laid down their arms with the usual ceremonies. Immediately two companies of grenadiers were told off to take possession of Fort George, and the light infantry from the French Brigade did the same with the circular battery.

On the 11th a detachment was sent out to take possession of the Red-Cliffs Fort on the Barrancas, whose garrison consisted of 139 men including officers. This Fort had 11 cannons mounted, of which 5 were of 32 calibre. On the same day the General gave orders to begin the inventory of the provisions, artillery, supplies and ammunition in the Forts conquered, and to the Major General and other Chiefs of the Expedition that they begin to re-embark all that was on land in order not to lose a moment's time in returning the troops to Havana.

The total number of prisoners reaches the sum of 1113 men, who added to the 105 blown up in the crescent, 56 deserters that had presented themselves during the siege, and 300 who whilst the capitulation was being drawn up retired to Georgia, shows that the garrison was composed of about 1600 men, without counting the many negroes that helped in its defense, the dead they had before, and the multitude of Indians that inundated the woods and country. Besides the prisoners, there are 101 women and 123 children, to whom rations have been accorded as they are dependent on these; so that today the number that are considered such reaches 1347.

The losses the enemy has occasioned the army during the siege are 75 killed and 198 wounded, as appears in the statement of the Major-General annexed herewith. The Navy has lost 21 men and has had 4 wounded. Pensacola, the 13th of May, 1781. Bernardo de Galvez.

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION CONCERTED and agreed to between Sr. D. Bernardo de Galvez, Pensioned Knight of the Royal and distinguished Order of Charles the III, Field Marshal of the Royal Armies of H. Catholic M., Inspector, Superintendent and Governor General of the Province of Louisiana and Commandant General of the Expedition; and the Most Excellent Sirs Peter Chester, Esquire, Governor-Commandant in Chief, Chancellor and Vice-

Admiral for H. Britannic M. in the Province of Western Florida, and John Campbell, Field Marshal and Commandant General of the Troops of H. Britannic M. in the said Province.

ARTICLE I.

All the Forts and posts at present occupied by the Troops of H. B. M. will be (within the specified time) delivered to those of H. C. M. The English soldiers and sailors will go out with all the honors of war; arms shouldered, drums beating, flags flying, two field guns with six cartridges, and the same number for each soldier, to within 500 yards of their different posts, where they will give up their arms, and the officers shall retain their swords, following which they will be embarked as promptly as possible in well conditioned ships provided for at the expense of H. C. M. to be conducted to any of the ports of Great Britain that General Campbell may select. The troops and sailors are to be under the immediate direction of their respective officers, and will not be able to serve against Spain or her allies until an exchange is verified for an equal number of Spanish prisoners or those of her allies, in accordance with the established custom in equality of rank and other equivalent things.

ARTICLE I.

Conceded, excepting only the ports of the Island of Jamaica and that of St. Augustine, Florida; and in the matter of the exchange of prisoners, the Spaniards are to be preferred over their allies, and they will be sent for exchange to ports of Spain at the expense of H. B. M.

ARTICLE II.

The general staff, Commissaries, store-keepers, and generally all individuals who by their calling or employment depend upon the troops will be included in the foregoing article.

ARTICLE II.

Conceded.

ARTICLE III.

A well-conditioned ship, provided with all necessary equipment at the expense of H. C. M. will serve as a Hospital for the sick and wounded who are able to accompany the other troops to the port selected for their retirement; good treatment will be given to those who remain, and as soon as they are able they will be sent in a ship under flag of truce to the same place.

ARTICLE III.

Conceded, but General Campbell must leave Commissaries, Surgeons and medicines for the assistance of the sick at the expense of H. B. M., to be transported after at the expense of H. C. M., as is the rest of the garrison.

ARTICLE IV.

The Captain and officers of the Navy will retain the servants granted by the regulations, and these will be included in the first article.

ARTICLE IV.

Conceded.

ARTICLE V.

All officers, soldiers and sailors that compose the garrison of the Forts and posts included in this Capitulation will be allowed to keep without harm or annoyance all their private property, baggage and personal effects, and will be allowed to embark them in the ships that in accordance with the first article must be destined, or they may sell them in Pensacola.

ARTICLE V.

Conceded insofar as baggage and equipment is concerned as is customary in the Army.

ARTICLE VI.

All necessary papers for the auditing of accounts in England or any other place will be preserved.

ARTICLE VI.

Conceded, after they have been examined.

ARTICLE VII.

A ship which the then Commandant of the Navy at Pensacola sent to Havana under flag of truce will be sent to the same port as the troops and sailors of this garrison as is stipulated in the first article.

ARTICLE VII.

Conceded.

ARTICLE VIII.

A commodious and well-provisioned ship shall be furnished at the expense of H. C. M. to transport the Governor, his family and good goods to Great Britain, or to any other of H. B. M. governments in North America as he may elect; and whilst he remains in the Province he will occupy the Government House in the City of Pensacola, protecting his person, goods and effects which will not be searched before or upon his departure.

ARTICLE VIII.

Conceded, with the exception that he will take any other except the Government House he solicits.

ARTICLE IX.

Another commodious and well provisioned ship will be furnished with all necessary equipment at the expense of H. C. M. to transport Major-General John Campbell, his suite and family and all his goods and effects to Great Britain, or any other port of H. B. M. in North America, if he should so elect; and whilst he remains in the Province he shall receive decent lodgings for himself, his suite and family, and shall be protected as also his papers, goods and effects, which shall not be searched before nor at the time of his departure.

ARTICLE IX.

Conceded.

ARTICLE X.

Commissioners will be named reciprocally to make an inventory of the Artillery, ammunition, supplies, and provisions in the warehouses of H. B. M. in the different Forts and posts of the Province and these will deliver it to the Commandant General of the Spanish troops.

ARTICLE X.

Conceded.

ARTICLE XI.

The officers of the Navy and of the garrisons in the Province who must remain in Pensacola to wind up their private affairs will be allowed to do so for such time as they may require.

ARTICLE XI.

Conceded.

ARTICLE XII.

The Province will remain to H. C. M. until the time that Their B. and C. Majesties determine its fate; in which time, Civilian officials of the Navy and Army who remain, the Merchants and other inhabitants will not be obliged on any account to take up arms against H. B. M. his allies or any other power, and under no circumstances or pretext will suffer damages in their person, goods or effects on sea or on land at the hands of H. C. M. vassals they being protected as are the vassals of the King of Spain.

ARTICLE XII.

The Province will remain for Spain, and the inhabitants will be treated in accordance with the Capitulation of Baton Rouge, with the extension of four months to enable them to leave.

ARTICLE XIII.

The Judges and other Civil officials of the Government who do not remain to wind up their affairs, will also be transported to Great Britain or any other Government in North America they may select in well conditioned ships at the expense of H. C. M., with their families all their goods, effects and papers, and these will not be examined.

ARTICLE XIII.

Flags of truce will be granted for them to retire but at their expense.

ARTICLE XIV.

To all Civilian Officials of the Navy and Army who remain for the purpose of arranging their affairs after the ships destined for the transportation of others to Great Britain or any other place as is mentioned in the preceeding articles have left, as also to merchants and other persons whilst their presence is necessary in the Province, and also to those whose representatives have to absent themselves, and again to those who are absent themselves, their rights and privileges will be conserved and they will be maintained in the pacific and tranquil possession of their property and personal effects movable or real, or of whatever other class they may be, and they will have the right to sell same at their pleasure as they would have done before now, and they may employ the proceeds thereof in what they esteem most advantageous to be transported at their cost with their families to whatever part of H. B. M. dominions they choose, in ships under flags of truce, which will be provided for them with the necessary

passports for their safety, as also that of their families and goods against any harm that might befall them at the hands of the vassals of H. C. M. or his allies.

ARTICLE XIV.

Conceded for one year.

ARTICLE XV.

The inhabitants, of whatever class they may be will not be compelled to give lodgings to the troops of H. C. M.; the conditions of the free negroes, mulattoes and octoroons will be respected.

ARTICLE XV.

The inhabitants will furnish lodgings to the troops only when necessary, and not more; regarding the liberty of the negroes and mulattoes, conceded, provided General Campbell grants the liberty of a negro captured in the village.

ARTICLE XVI.

No restriction will be placed on the free exercise of religion, as has been the practice heretofore.

ARTICLE XVI.

Conceded for the period of one year until the King my Lord decides.

ARTICLE XVII.

The negroes who have been hired out to work on the fortifications will not be taken from their owners, but these will be entitled to keep them along with the rest of their property.

ARTICLE XVII.

Conceded.

ARTICLE XVIII.

The books, registers, and public papers in the Archives of the Government and in others will remain in the care of the same Officials in whose charge they were; on no account will it be permitted to withdraw them unless they have been lost or mislaid.

ARTICLE XVIII.

All public documents will be delivered to the person I shall designate; in case they are not useful for the Government of the Province they will be returned to the Civil authorities.

ARTICLE XIX.

The inhabitants and all other persons of whatever class these may be who may have taken arms in defense of the Province will under no circumstances be molested.

ARTICLE XIX.

Conceded.

ARTICLE XX.

Two covered wagons will be furnished that will go out with the troops and these will not be searched.

ARTICLE XX.

Conceded.

ARTICLE XXI.

All cattle and other provisions taken from the inhabitants of this Province for the subsistence of H. C. M. troops will be fully paid at prices established at the place they were taken.

ARTICLE XXI.

This article is useless inasmuch as no cattle or any other thing has been taken from the inhabitants.

ARTICLE XXII.

It will be permitted to the Governor and Commandant of the troops, if they so desire, to send advices of this Capitulation in ships under flags of truce, or by other means to the Governor of East Florida, Commander in Chief in North America or to Jamaica or Great Britain.

ARTICLE XXII.

Conceded.

ARTICLE XXIII.

All prisoners made by the arms of Spain since the 9th of March will be united to the Garrisons of the Posts they must leave so as to be on the same footing stipulated in Article I; and all the Spaniards that have given their parole in Pensacola or who are now in custody of the English troops will be given their liberty, with the exception of those who have not fulfilled their parole.

ARTICLE XXIII.

Conceded.

ARTICLE XXIV.

The negroes who from fright have fled from Pensacola during the seige, shall be returned to their owners.

ARTICLE XXIV.

Conceded, should this incur any inconvenience their appraised value will be given.

ARTICLE XXV.

Lodgings will be provided for the troops and sailors until such a time as the vessels mentioned in the first article are available.

ARTICLE XXV.

Conceded.

ARTICLE XXVI.

Good faith will have to be observed in the full and entire execution of this Capitulation, and should any question arise not provided for by the foregoing articles it will be declared under the understanding that the intention of the contracting parties is that the determination most in accord with the dictates of humanity and generous thought will be taken.

ARTICLE XXVI.

Conceded.

Fort George, March 9th, 1781—Peter Chester, John Campbell.
Camp of Pensacola, May 9th, 1781—Bernardo de Galvez.

Additional Articles

ARTICLE XXVII.

In case a few or many English soldiers and sailors who are now absent from their respective Corps and fugitives in the woods are taken by the troops of Spain, they will be considered as if part of the garrison, and if as such they are apprehended before the departure of the other troops, they will be permitted to join them, and if after, they will be included in the Hospital ship with the sick and wounded in accordance with Article III, so as to leave at the same time with the garrison.

ARTICLE XXVII.

Conceded, unless they present themselves as deserters.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

On no account whatsoever will the English soldiers and sailors be asked to take the service of Spain or her allies. Peter Chester, John Campbell.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

Conceded, but if they present themselves of their own accord, protection will be granted to them.—Bernardo de Galvez.

Concurs with the original.—Bernardo de Galvez.

Statement of the dead and wounded which the army under command of the Field Marshall D. Bernardo de Galvez, has sustained since its landing on the Island of Santa Rosa until the 8th of May that the City of Pensacola surrendered.

Month of March	OFFICERS	Dead of all Classes	Wounded
25th		1	1
26th		8	10
27th		5	4
28th	The Colonel of the King D. Luis Rebolo, dead	4	4
30th	The Lieutenant of Soria D. Antonio Figueroa, wounded.	5	15
31st		1	00
April			
7th		00	1
8th		1	1
12th	The Commandant General Field Marshall D. Bernardo de Galvez, wounded.	1	6
	The Captain of Navarro d. Joseph Sarmaniega, wounded.		
22nd		00	2
24th	Sublieutenant of Hibernia D. Felipe O-Reylli, wounded.	00	5
25th		00	9
26th		2	1
27th	The Sublieutenant of Guadalajara D. Francisco Castanon, wounded.	3	6
28th		00	2
29th	The Sublieutenant of Louisiana D. Francisco Godeau, dead.	2	1
30th		1	00
May			
1st		00	3
2nd		00	3
3rd		1	4
Total		35	78

Month of	Carried forward	Dead of all	Wounded
May	OFFICERS	Classes	
4th	The Captain of Mallaorca D. Salvado Rueca, dead.	19	19
	The Sublieutenant of the same, D. Francisco Aragon, dead.		
	The Lieutenant of Hibernia D. Timoteo O'Dali, dead.		
	The Captain of the same, D. Hugo O'Connor, wounded.		
	The Lieutenant of Mallorca D. Juan Xaramillo, wounded.		
5th		2	12
6th	The Sergeant Major of Soria D. Joseph Urraca, wounded.	1	12
	The Engineer of Volunteers D. Gilverto Guilmar, wounded.		
	The Captain of Aragon D. Mateo Arreda, wounded		
	The Lieutenant of the same, D. Joseph Molina, wounded.		
	The Lieutenant of Navarra D. Ramon Gracia, wounded.		
	The Captain of the permanent of Havana, C. Francisco Onoro, wounded.		
7th	The Captain of Navarra D. Bartolome de Vargas, dead.	4	17
	The Sublieutenant of the King, D. Pascual Couget, wounded.		
8th	The Sublieutenant of Hibernia, D. Tomas Fitzmorin, dead.	13	60
	The Sublieutenant of Soria, D. Juan Vigodet, wounded.		
	Mr. D. Elpese and Mr. de Villeneuve, 1st and 2nd Captains of the Regiment of Angenois, wounded.		
	Total	74	198

Pensacola, 12th of May, 1781.

Joseph de Espeleta, A true copy of the original,
Bernardo de Galvez.

STATEMENT OF THE ARMS AND MUNITIONS OF WAR that have been found in the forts and Fortified City of Pensacola, besides the 4 mortars, 143 cannons, 6 howitzers and 40 swivel guns that General Don Bernardo de Galvez reports in his letter of the 26th of May, published in the *Gazette* of the 7th of August, and of a considerable assortment of goods and supplies for the service of the artillery.

Bombs and Royal grenades.....	1623
Hand Grenades, loaded.....	1530
Bullets of various calibres.....	8144
Cartridges for cannons.....	3411
Hundred weights of powder.....	298
FOR THE INFANTRY	
Guns.....	2142
Bayonets.....	1208
Sabers.....	120
Cartridges (cases).....	1072
Belts.....	232
Ball cartridges for guns.....	30712
Flints.....	8000
Hundred weights of bullets for guns.....	96

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF LOUISIANA TO MEDICAL SCIENCES.

By Edmond Souchon, M. D.

Professor Emeritus of Anatomy, Tulane School of Medicine
H. F. A. C. S.

New Orleans, Louisiana.

A BIBLIOGRAPHIC STUDY.

Upon reflecting on the awakening of the scientific spirit in America within the last thirty years, it occurred to me that it would be very interesting to study the achievements made especially in the form of original contributions by America to Medical Sciences.

In this study, I confined myself to the United States of America. America is barely more than a century old but in that century it has contributed more than any other single century of the Old World, barring the century of Pasteur and his followers; and yet, with transmissibility of puerperal fever, with anesthetics, general and local, gynecology, abdominal surgery, dentistry, eradication of yellow fever and malarial fever, it follows closely in the trail of the Pasteur century.

By original contribution is meant something new, that has not been done before by somebody else.

In some instances it is difficult, from the description, to decide if the contribution has been made in America for the first time, or for the first time in the world. Doubtless a great number were made in America without any knowledge that they had been done before by somebody else, and that is quite creditable in itself.

To obtain information, I have sent out over six hundred circular letters to as many men occupying prominent positions and who ought to know what has been done in the profession in this country.

Through the courtesy of the Editor, the circular letter was published in the *Journal* of the American Medical Association. It required eight months to gather the data and write the paper. It was truly a labor of love to bring together the workers of our country.

The contributions of Louisiana are here described as a *biblio-*

graphic Study. In a previous paper read December 15, 1915, before the Louisiana Historical Society the subject was considered *biographically*, i. e. gave specially an account of the lives of the contributors, whereas in this bibliographic study it is specially their writings and achievements that are described.

All the contributors from Louisiana are from the City of New Orleans, except Dr. Prevost.

DR. FRANCOIS PREVOST practiced in Donaldsonville. In 1830 (?) he performed the first Cesarian Section in America. He operated four times successfully losing but one mother and operating twice on the same woman. His claim is well established in a paper published by Dr. Robert P. Harris of Philadelphia, published in the *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, June, 1879, page 933.

DR. — DUBOURG, (New Orleans) was the first to perform vaginal hysterectomy in America, if not in the world. (Statement of Professor E. S. Lewis of Tulane.)

DR. CHARLES ALOYSIUS LUZENBERG, 1805-1848, (New Orleans) first removed gangrenous bowel in hernia, and sutured the ends successfully.

DR. JOHN LEONARD RIDDELL, 1807-1865, (New Orleans) invented the binocular microscope.

DR. WARREN STONE, 1808-1892, (New Orleans) was the first to resect a portion of rib to secure permanent drainage in cases of empyema. He was the first to apply a wire ligature to a human artery for aneurism. He applied it to the common iliac for an aneurism of the external iliac. He first cured a traumatic aneurism of the second portion of the subclavian artery by digital compression. Priority is also claimed by Dr. Jonathan Knight of New Haven, Conn. Digital compression is undoubtedly an American procedure.

DR. CHARLES JEAN FAGET, Sr., 1818-1884, (New Orleans) discovered the lack of correlation between the pulse and the temperature in yellow fever. While the temperature goes up the pulse goes down or remains stationary. It is pathognomonic of yellow fever.

DR. TOBIAS GIBSON RICHARDSON, 1827-1892, (New Orleans) was the first to amputate both legs at the hip joint at one time in the same subject, the patient recovering. He was the first to write an Anatomy in which English names were substituted for the Latin names. He was the first to use strong injections of nitrate of silver for cytitis.

His wife's devotion to his memory caused her to contribute magnificent buildings on Tulane Campus devoted to medical education.

DR. H. D. SCHMIDT, 1823-1888, (New Orleans), demonstrated the origin of the bile ducts in the intercellular spaces.

DR. COMPTON, (New Orleans), in 1853, was the first to excise both the radius and ulna.

DR. ANDREW WOOD SMYTH, (New Orleans) was the first to cure a subclavian aneurism of the third portion. He first ligated simultaneously the innominate and the common carotid and later the vertebral artery. His ligation of the innominate artery is the first successful one in the world. His patient survived, whereas Dr. Mott's did not. It is by ligating the vertebral artery on the appearance of secondary haemorrhage in his case that he cured the case.

DR. ALBERT BALDWIN MILES, 1852-1894, (New Orleans) was the first to use a loop ligature on the first portion of the subclavian artery while operating on an aneurism of the third portion.

DR. JOSEPH JONES, 1833-1896, (New Orleans) discovered the plasmodium of malarial fever before Laveran. (Statement of Professor Duval of Tulane.)

DR. EDMOND SOUCHON, (New Orleans) devised a New Method to design colored charts for class demonstrations. The sketch is copied from a book with a pantograph and the shading is done by willow charcoal and black crayons. The coloring is done with pastels. The drawing is made on book paper. the back of which is painted with thin Damar varnish and turpentine which fixes the pastel and prevents its rubbing off. The paper is then pasted on large Bristol boards (30x40) and its surface is sized with thin gelatine and then varnished with thin damar.

Preservation of Anatomic Dissections with permanent color of Muscles and Organs by two methods. The curing Method using arsenic, calcium chloride and formol. The Physical or Paint Method by which colorless muscles in a dissection are given permanent color by painting them with artist's paint or house paints.

Founded Preservative Anatomy after the method described above.

Founded Methodic Anatomy as evidenced in a plea for a Methodical Textbook on Anatomy. A single and uniform guide is strictly followed in describing each and every organ, from the largest to the smallest.

Founded Philosophic Anatomy as exemplified in the publication of Philosophic Anatomy of the tongue, liver, lungs, kidneys. The peculiarities only of the organs are considered and it is endeavored to explain the reasons of things, the why and wherefore.

Founded Esthetic Anatomy by using systematically in teaching

four hundred large pastel colored charts and projecting on the screen a complete series of three hundred colored lantern slides, the reproduction of the atlases of Bonamy, and Beau and of Hirsfeldt and Leveille.

Founded the Souchon Museum of Anatomy at Tulane University. It was so named by resolution of the Board of Administrators. It contains 350 dissections, large and small. They are all natural preparations. There are no dried, wax, or papier mache specimens. All the muscles and organs present permanent color. No other Museum anywhere presents this feature. They are prepared after the Souchon Method of Preserving Anatomic Dissections.

Surgical Collateral Branches of the Main Arteries. Each and every main artery presents a collateral branch which takes the place of the main artery when that artery has been ligated.

Embalming of Bodies for Teaching Purposes. The chemicals used are arsenic, formol, alcohol, glycerine, carbolic acid, and creosote. The originality lies in the combinations selected, in the proportions of each and the result obtained in the color of the muscles.

First Complete History of Aneurisms of the Arch of the Aorta.

First Complete History of the Operative Treatment of Aneurisms of the Third Portion of the Subclavian Artery.

First and Only Dissection of a Subclavian Aneurism of the Third Portion of the Subclavian Artery, demonstrating the collateral circulation, after ligation of the main arteries. It took place through the anastomoses of the Aortic perforating intercostals with the branches of the subscapular, in the substance of the great serrate muscle. The specimen is now in the Army Medical Museum in Washington.

First to advocate Simultaneous Ligation of the first portion of the subclavian and the vertebral artery without rupturing the coats for the cure of subclavian aneurism of the third portion.

First to advocate the ligation of the axillary artery above the origin of the subscapular for the cure of *recurrent* aneurisms of the third portion of the subclavian.

First Complete History of Double Aneurism of the same artery.

First Complete History of the Operative Treatment of Irreducible Dislocations of the Shoulder Joint. Resection of the head is better and easier than reduction.

Complete History of Drilling holes through the skull to explore with syringe and needle.

First Complete History of Wounds of the Large Surgical Veins. When a large vein has been injured and ligated, if the collateral venous circulation is inadequate and gangrene is threatened, the main artery of the region must be ligated, but *below* the largest collateral

which will carry enough blood to nourish the parts beyond, while the ligation of the main trunk will diminish the quantity of blood and equalize the arterial and the collateral venous circulation.

First Complete History of the Treatment of Abscesses of the Liver by Aspiration. Small abscesses of not over one quart are often cured by a single aspiration.

First to write a Complete History of the Surgical Diseases and Injuries of the Neck. Each region of the neck is considered separately. The peculiarities only of diseases are considered. No generalities are mentioned.

First to write a Methodic Description of a Surgical Disease. A single uniform plan or guide is adopted and is strictly followed in describing each and every surgical disease.

Devised Souchon's Anesthetizer, an apparatus to inject anesthetic vapors in the lower pharynx by a rubber tube introduced through the nose or the mouth. The apparatus is worked by one hand which presses a bulb and forces the vapor through the tube. Its originality lies in its small size and simplicity. Other apparatuses used for this purpose are large, clumsy and worked with the foot and bellows.

Devised Speculum Holder for Sims duck bill speculum. An upright with a line of nails is screwed to the side of the operating table. The outside end of the speculum is held by a loop of rubber with a string to it. The string is wound around a nail on the upright. It is quite a help and relief to the assistant who has only to guide the inside speculum in the proper position.

First Formal Plea for a Reform in Medical Education.

First Formal Plea for a Reform in University Education.

Wrote the first Formal Sanitary Code in America for the Louisiana State Board of Health.

Reminiscences of Dr. J. Marion Sims in Paris.

Designed the Floor Plans of the Josephine Hutchinson Memorial School of Medicine of Tulane University. It is the largest and most elaborate *under one roof* medical college in America.

First to write a formal History of the Original Contributions of America to Medical Sciences.

DR. RUDOLPH MATAS, (New Orleans), "Drum snares," solid rings for end-to-end and lateral intestinal anastomosis.

Method of securing circular constriction with fixation pins of the Auricle, to obtain hemostasis in operations for cavernous and other angiomas of the Auricle. Pins are inserted around the auricle and an elastic thread is wound around the pins.

Easy method of securing hemostasis in bleeding injuries of the upper lip in hemophilic subjects. Arrest of hemorrhage by direct

elastic compression. An ordinary wide elastic band (stationers) is adjusted over the lip and fixed by threads to prevent slipping up or down.

New Method of reducing and securing fixation of displaced fragment in zygomatic fractures. A long semilunar Hagedorn needle threaded with silk is entered one inch above the middle of the displaced fragment, is passed well into the temporal fossa, and made to emerge one-half inch below the arch. The silk is used to pull the bone into position. A firm pad is applied externally and the wire is twisted over the pad. On the 9th or 10th day the wire, pad, etc. are removed permanently.

Adaptation and modification of the Kraske method for cases of congenital imperforation of the anus.

Modification of the Fell-O'Dwyer apparatus for direct intralaryngeal insufflation (first effort to apply positive pressure in the surgery of the thorax in the United States) for anesthesia in overcoming surgical pneumothorax.

A new graduated air pump for positive pressure in its application to medical and surgical practice. The Matas-Smyth pump.

An adjustable metallic interdental splint for the treatment of fracture of the lower jaw.

An apparatus for massive infiltration anesthesia with weak analgesic solutions.

Original methods of Blocking the Nerves in Regional Anesthesia:

(1) Original method of anesthesia of the forearm and hand by intraneural and paraneural infiltration with cocain, novocain, and other succedanea, into the trunks of the musculo-spiral, median and ulnar. This procedure secures complete analgesia of the forearm and hand, permitting amputations, resections, or any other operation. First case operated by this method, January, 1898. (2) Regional anesthesia of the territory supplied by second division of the trigeminus by blocking the nerve at its exit rotundum, by two routes: (a) By introducing the needle through the spheno-maxillary fissure into the spheno-palatine fossa and reaching the nerve and even the Gasserian ganglion through the foramen rotundum. This route to the superior maxillary division of the Trigeminus was first applied by Dr. Matas in removing both upper maxillae for carcinoma, April 29, 1899. This route is now known as the "Payr route" in Germany, though its application has only recently obtained in Germany. (b) The inframaxillary route to the second and third division appeared also at the same time (1899) to block the second and third division of the Trigeminus for operations on the jaw, thus antedating Schlosser and now recognized as the "Matas Route" (see Braun, Lokal Anesthesia, ed. 2,

1913; also Haertel, loc. cit, 1913). Original account of these and other procedures described by Dr. Matas. See *Phi. Med. Jo.*, Nov. 3, 1900.

Was also the first to apply spinal subarachnoid anesthesia for surgical purposes in the United States (Nov. 10, 1899) though Leonard Corning of New York had applied it for medical purposes in 1886, and had laid the foundation for the surgical procedure. A Bier, then of Kiel, Germany, first introduced and resorted to it for surgical purposes in April, 1899 (see *Phil. Med. Jo.*, Nov. 3, 1900).

An operation for the radical cure of aneurism by endo-aneurismorrhaphy with intrasaccular suture ("The Matas Operation"), first applied in March, 1888. In this, three different methods are described for the first time: (1) Obliterative; (2) Restorative; (3) Reconstructive Endo-aneurismorrhaphy. 225 operations by these methods were reported in August, 1913, to the 17th International Congress of Medicine, London.

The flexible, flat, removable aluminum band for the occlusion of large surgical arteries (with Dr. Carroll W. Allen). "Matas-Allen Band." For testing the efficiency of the collateral circulation in the circle of Willis and other parts (a modification of the Halsted band).

A method of testing the efficiency of the collateral circulation as a preliminary to the occlusion of the great surgical arteries. Hyperemia reaction or living color test, (used on the extremities): Complete ischaemia of the limb is obtained by elevation and application of an elastic bandage to the level of the lesion. Then a Matas compressor is applied to the proximal side and as near the aneurism as possible, until the aneurism is absolutely stilled, and is allowed to remain from six to ten minutes. Immediately on removal of the elastic bandage, the compressor being still in place, a hyperemic flush descends the limb rapidly. The digits retain a cadaveric, waxy lifeless palor for several seconds, which may be prolonged to ten to forty minutes or even longer, according to the development of the collaterals. If there is no collateral circulation, the limb will remain ischaemic.

The second test is based on the preliminary occlusion of the main artery with the pliable and removable aluminum band, which can be removed in 56 hours without injury to the vessel in the event of manifestations of ischaemic phenomena; for example, hemiplegia, stupor, and coma after the obliteration of the common carotid artery.

A method for reducing the calibre of the thoracic aorta by plication or unfolding of its walls by means of lateral parietal suture

applied in one or more stages. (An experimental investigation with Dr. Carroll W. Allen.)

Direct duodenal catheterization through the gall bladder and common duct for nutrient and medicinal purposes (an extension of McArthur's gall bladder drip).

A simple expedient in treating complicated fractures of the lower jaw in conditions forbidding the use of splints or intrabuccal prosthesis (with Dr. L. Landry). Four or five turns of a thin Esmarch bandage are taken around the face and jaw from the bregma to the chin and under jaw; this is fixed by a bandage passed around the forehead to prevent slipping. Immobilizes the fragments after reduction; assists materially in getting rid of swelling and edema.

The prophylaxis of post-operative tetanus based upon proper dietetic measures, and upon contamination of the alimentary canal with Tetanus bacillus introduced in uncooked vegetable foods.

Dr. Matas has devised a special Rachitome which he uses with advantage in performing laminectomy for extensive spinal lesions. This is a simple but very strong chisel with a short powerful cutting, tooth prolonged into a long curved metallic handle. The chisel has enormous strength and leverage and can cut a continuous linear section through the laminae in a very short time without injury to the dura.

Dr. Matas has also devised and uses with advantage a special long suture carrier which greatly facilitates the tacking of the omentum or mesentery in making colonic or other visceral suspensions for prolapsed stomach, colon, etc. It permits of an extensive suturing of distanced displaced organs through a comparatively small median incision. In this way a colonic suspension may be made in the course of a pelvic operation through a short and low laparotomy incision with little additional trauma or intraperitoneal manipulation.

In an exhaustive monograph on the surgical *treatment of ano-rectal imperforation* (congenital) Dr. Matas laid special stress upon the advantages of the perineo-coccygeal route and described a procedure which he first applied with decided success in a case of imperforated anus with a high placed enteron. In this case the distended gut was brought down from a high position in the pelvis by a partial Kraske, which allowed it to be pulled down to the proctodeum or infundibulum, to which it was sutured by a lateral anastomosis. In this way the sphincter fibres of the anal region are preserved and a better chance of rectal control is obtained.

Dr. Matas says that his effort to simplify the cure of aneurism by the principles involved in the modern treatment of aneurisms, and his insistence upon the security of studying the conditions of the

collateral and peripheral circulations before attempting the permanent occlusion of the great surgical arteries; and by which the efficiency or inefficiency of the collateral circulation can be determined,—are the contributions which he would prefer to have recognized.

DR. ARTHUR WASHINGTON DE ROALDES was the first to establish a Nose, Eye, Ear and Throat Hospital in the South, from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from St. Louis to the Gulf.

DRS. F. W. PARHAM and E. D. MARTIN devised a new treatment for fractures. It consists in a band that fits snugly around any unevenness of the bones. Especially useful in the treatment of oblique fractures.

DR. CHARLES WARREN DUVAL, (New Orleans), claims to be the first to obtain the bacillus of Leprosy in pure culture. Subcutaneous leprosy nodules are removed under sterile conditions, cut into small bits and planted aerobically on a medium of split protein products. After removal it is autolyzed by adding some proteolytic bacterium or allowing the tissue to slowly disintegrate under sterile conditions at 37 C. for several weeks, then extracting the juice by Berkfeld filtration.

Dr. Duval has discovered the causal agent of Infantile diarrhea or Summer Complaint and proved that it is a bacillus belonging to the dysentery group.

DR. WILLIAM HERBERT HARRIS, (New Orleans): Production of Pellagra in the Monkey by a Berkefeld filtrate derived from human lesions. The filtrate was injected hypodermically.

DR. MAURICE COURET, (New Orleans), demonstrated that the fish is the host of the bacillus of leprosy. The fish were inoculated simultaneously with a bacterial emulsion of bacillus leprae. Fish were fed on human leprosy nodules and the flesh of infected fish. All the bacilli multiplied in the fish and were harbored by them without apparent discomfort or outward evidence of the disease.

DRS. CHARLES CASSEDY BASS and FOSTER MATTHEW JOHNS, (New Orleans), were the first to cultivate the Plasmodium of Malarial Fever. They showed that when blood with plasmodium was heated to a certain temperature the plasmodium continued to live for a certain time but would eventually die. By adding some dextrose the plasmodium continued to live and multiplied.

They have studied specially the influence of emetine and ipecac as a specific remedy against the protozoon of pyorrhea alveolaris, specially proper dose, best method of administration, duration of treatment and prevention of lapse or reinfection.

DR. MARION SIMS SOUCHON, (New Orleans), was the first

to remove a urinary calculus from the vesical portion of the ureter through the perineal route. He was guided by the touch through the rectum and through the wound.

DR. ROBERT CLYDE LYNCH, (New Orleans), claims to be the first to remove a tumor whole from the larynx. Also to be the first to have sutured a surgical wound in the interior of the larynx.

MR. LLOYD ARNOLD, (New Orleans), is the first to demonstrate the occurrence in the human ovary of several ova in the same follicle. The work was done under the direction of Professor Irving Hardesty in the Laboratory of Anatomy at Tulane University.

DR. CARROLL WOOLSEY ALLEN, (New Orleans,) is the first to publish the only thorough book on Local Anesthesia in the English language.

DR. ANSEL MARION CAINE, (New Orleans), devised a warm ether apparatus, without using a flame. The apparatus consists of a bellows worked by foot pressure which vaporizes the ether. The vapor is driven through a coil of pipe enclosed in a metal receptacle containing acetate of soda. This receptacle is immersed in boiling water for fifteen minutes before using and the soda will retain the heat for several hours. The vapor driven through the heated coil is delivered warm to the patient.

DR. HENRY DICKSON BRUNS, (New Orleans), was the first to devise a tucking operation for shortening any one of the straight muscles of the eye.

DR. OSCAR DOWLING was the first in the Southwest to equip a Health Car for the Louisiana State Board of Health and with it to travel over the country to perform the true functions of a State Board of Health, i. e. to teach the people how to preserve and improve their health.

DR. STANFORD CHAILLE JAMISON was the first to discover that when the large splenic vessels were ligated, the spleen would not slough if it were covered by omentum.

THE STATE OF LOUISIANA is the first and only State to establish and maintain a Leprosarium (Leper's Home).

Tulane University, St. Charles Avenue,
New Orleans.

THE HISTORY OF LOUISIANA AND SOME OF ITS LEADING FAMILIES

Charles Gayarre, our great Louisiana historian, did well in his introductory words to the first volume of his History of Louisiana, when he entitled it "*The poetry or the romance of Louisiana.*" The legends and stories of nearly 300 years were under consideration and certainly nowhere in the western world could a greater amount of romance and legend be got together than from the records of our early history.

While much romance attaches to the early days of the settlements on the Atlantic coast, to the Pilgrims in New England, the Dutch in New York, the Quakers and Germans in Pennsylvania, the Catholics in Maryland, the Cavaliers in Virginia and the Scotch-Irish of North Carolina, still we believe that we find much more romance in Colonial Louisiana.

The French were endeavoring to build a new France on the St. Lawrence in lower and upper Canada. The French explorations of the great Lakes and their tributaries, of the upper Ohio and the settlements made by them at Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburgh, and also at Gallipolis, further down the Ohio, and also at Terre Haute and Vincennes on the Wabash and at St. Louis and many towns on the upper Mississippi, all contribute to this end. France, however, had already established a Louisiana colony in the lower end of the Mississippi River. When the English expelled the Acadians from Nova Scotia in 1755 these exiles proceeded towards Louisiana, finally reaching their fellow countrymen and made settlements in Pointe Coupee, Avoyelles and in the Teche country. With these refugees from Nova Scotia there came later refugees from San Domingo and immigrants from the French West Indies. With the transfer of Louisiana to Spain in 1762 thousands of immigrants of high and low degree came from Spain and Spanish colonies to Louisiana. With the sale of Louisiana by Napoleon Bonaparte to President Jefferson and its transfer from Spain to France and from France to Louisiana in 1803, the Louisiana territory in general and the island city of New Orleans in particular became the mecca of many venturesome Americans. At that time the McCall family of Philadelphia were merchants in New Orleans and later the owners for a

century of the famous Evan Hall plantation and there were scores of other families equally prominent, the records of which we shall hope to incorporate in subsequent issues of the Louisiana Historical Quarterly.

We have been interested in the history of the Pitot family and the Montegut family. Mr. James Pitot, the grandfather of Mr. Gustave Pitot, was the first mayor of New Orleans under the American domination. Mr. Armand Pitot, the son of Mr. James Pitot, was one of Louisiana's most distinguished lawyers in 1860 and died some twenty-five years ago. Mr. Gustave Pitot is manager of the Savings Department of the Citizens' Bank of Louisiana, one of the oldest financial institutions. The ancestors of the Montegut family are represented in a large picture hanging in the Louisiana Historical Society's rooms in the Cabildo on the rear wall of the Sala Capitulaire.

The picture has been an heirloom in the Pitot family and was confided to the keeping of Mr. Gustave Pitot's mother who was a Montegut. At her death it was taken by Mr. Gustave Pitot and kept by him until transferred to the Louisiana Historical Society in whose hands he considers it better for the information of the Montegut family and others who might be interested in the old Louisiana families.

We insert herein below a personal letter from Mr. G. Montegut of Houma, Louisiana, to Mr. Gustave Pitot of New Orleans which throws some light on the subject.

HOUMA, LA., February 5, 1917.

My dear Gus:

I am glad you contemplate writing up the genealogy of our family. You will find it exceedingly interesting. Let me tell you what I know about them.

Practically, the Creole families of Louisiana all descend from the old French nobility. Before the Revolution, the great mass of the French people could procure no pass-ports, therefore could not emigrate. They had no family names. For instance, one was a baker named Pierre. He was known as Pierre le boulanger, which, later on, evolved into the Boulanger family. Another named Jean, lived at the foot of a bridge. He was known as Jean du pont,—whence evolved the Dupont family, &c. &c. *ad infinitum*.

After the Revolution they flocked to America and Louisiana on account of the French language and Catholic religion was an attraction to them. Many went also to New York, Philadelphia, New Jersey and Delaware. Many of that class were descendants of Serfs who took the names of the Seigneurs, their masters.

The old Creole families, due to their high sense of modesty and horror of anything pretentious, neglected their genealogies. Some of them associated with Royalty. Our grand uncle Jcs. Roignac, passing through Paris on his way to Angouleme, was invited with his family, by the King of France, to a breakfast at the

palace, and received from the Royal family, the expression of their high consideration for our family, whose hospitality the King enjoyed during his exile in Louisiana. The Monteguts are of Norman origin. At the invasion of Italy by the Normans, (in the 8th century, I think) many of them came to, and remained in Italy, and mixed with the latin blood. This accounts for the blue eyes and blondes found in the north of Italy and numerous in Sicily. Shakespeare was encouraged in his researches by the Venetian authorities, and there found the data for his "Romeo and Juliet," representing respectively, the Montagues and the Capulets. The name was also known in Italy as Monta-cute.

From Italy some of them went to the south of France, which, accounts for our family at Armagnac near Toulouse. In an edition of "*Guide du Voyageur en France*," we are informed that, "dans le jardin d'une maison de campagne est le tombeau du roi Alphonse d'Aragon, tue a la bataille de Muret en 1214, dans le parc du chateau de Montegut-Segla, ou existe une source minerale qui opere une action sedative sur le systeme nerveur." This is on the road from Toulouse to Bayonne.

Our great grand-father Dr. Jos. Montegut came to Louisiana about 1760 and married Francoise De Lisle Dupart, a Creole, whose parents were also natives. Her mother was Arnoult, (DeLisle Arnoult) and it is from the Arnoults that we are related to the Waggamans. One of the Duparts was burned at the stake, in the wars with the Natchez. The Duparts, De Lisle, Arnoult, St. Amant and Waggamans, all related to us, were prominent colonists.

I recall a day, many years ago, as I was walking leisurely on Canal street, I met my lamented friend, Henry Castellanos. After greeting me with his usual warmth, he said, "Gabe, I want to write up the Charity Hospital, can you give me any interesting data on the subject?" I answered, I knew very little about its early history. He said, "Ah, you Creoles, you are alike. Why, my dear friend, your great grand-father, Don Jose Montegut (so called in Spanish days) was the first resident physician of the Charity Hospital."

Our uncle Jos. Rofignac who, was Mayor of New Orleans four terms, from 1820 to 1828, married his daughter. Uncle Edgard was Mayor of New Orleans in 1844, and clerk of the Criminal Court several terms.

I took issue with Prof. Fortier some years ago when he wrote in his history of Louisiana that Etienne DeBore was the first American Mayor of New Orleans. I told him, he was not. That my great grand-father Jacques Pitot, was the first American Mayor of New Orleans. That DeBore was the French Mayor, a "hold over" at the time of the cession, and that, when the municipal government of New Orleans was organized under American auspices, Governor Claiborne appointed Jacques Pitot, Mayor, therefore the first American Mayor. He was subsequently Judge of the Probate Court, with a jurisdiction from the Balize to Baton Rouge. And your father, his son, was clerk of the Supreme Court.

There is a good sprinkling of military blood in our veins. My maternal grand-father, your father's cousin, Alphonse Desmare, belonged to Napoleon's Guard of Honor, and Napoleon selected them from the old families, la "vielle noblesse." He left the military school in France at 18 years of age and followed the Eagles of France, from Wagram to Waterloo. Your maternal and my paternal grand-mother was Rose Gabrielle Nicolas de St. Cerran, a refugee from the negro insurrection of St. Domingo. Major Davezac, judge advocate of Jackson's army, was her cousin, and his sister married Edw. Livingston, who was also on Jackson's staff. Our uncle Remond Montegut, commanded an artillery Co. at the battle of New Orleans. Edw. Livingston and his wife were my father's God Father and God Mother.

The Bourgeoisie of France has evolved into a great element, a superior branch of human civilization and progress. Its importance commenced under Louis XIV. Previously it was only a germ. There existed no monopolies, but many fabricants, such as jewellers, verriers, shoe makers, bakeries, confectioneries, tailors, perru-guiers, &c.

Napoleon encouraged them, made them Kings and Marshals of France, and under the splendor of his military domination, they amalgamated extensively with the "old noblesse," of which many were converted from Royalists to Imperialists.

Our honored and beloved cousin, Gustave LeGardeur, also Edgar Grima and his bright and amiable nephew, Alfred, may add much interesting data, relating to the Rofignacs, Neurice and Clanmagerant.

The property on Royal street measuring 80 feet on Royal going to St. Anne, belonged to our great grand-mother's, and was allotted to the Rofignacs in the partition. They resided there during the gayeties of the winter season, and returned to their plantation, adjoining the Marigny property, in the summer time.

I desire to mention also that our grand-father (Montegut) established a sugar plantation in the Parish of Plaquemines and named it "St. Sophie," after our dear tante Sophie, our grand-mother's sister. There is a settlement and post office there now known as St. Sophie. I am pleased to mention this, to show that our family felt an interest in the sugar industry when in its infancy. Our grand-father died in 1814, so you see, that is a long time ago.

Referring to our Civil War our family was Confederate to the core, none more so. "The Orleans Guard Battery," commanded by Gustave LeGardeur, represented the cream, the fine upper crust of the Creole society of New Orleans, and no command behaved with more courage and valor.

Ton ami de cœur,

GABI.

THE ORLEANS TERRITORY MEMORIALISTS TO CONGRESS, 1804.

By *Everett S. Brown*

The form of government provided for Orleans Territory by the Breckinridge Act of March 26, 1804, was a great disappointment to the inhabitants of the territory¹. They had expected a larger share of self-government than that granted to them. Governor Claiborne reported that the prohibition of the importation of slaves into Louisiana from outside the United States had caused great agitation. The people considered it a serious blow at the commercial and agricultural interests of the province. The importation of foreign slaves into South Carolina served to increase discontent, for the inhabitants of Orleans Territory generally could not be made to understand the power of the state authorities with regard to the importation of such persons². A mass meeting was held to protest to Congress on the question of the slave-trade, commercial restrictions, and government in general, and a committee was appointed to draw up a memorial³.

In due time the memorial was put into circulation. Governor Claiborne, after seeing one sheet of the original, stated it to be in the handwriting of Edward Livingston. He did not doubt that all of it had been written by Livingston, with the aid of Daniel Clark and Evan Jones⁴. If Claiborne's information is correct, there were not many people present at the meeting held for the drawing-up of the memorial. The meeting at which it was adopted was much more largely attended, however. The memorial was afterwards carried through the territory and Claiborne says that many signed without reading it, while others did so with no understanding of its contents. The names of others were affixed without their seeing it. Some of the Louisianians thought their grievances were real, others were made to think so. Claiborne's opinion was that few were really interested in the fate of the memorial except as it related to the African

1—For the act see *Statutes at Large*, II, 283.

2—Claiborne to Madison, March 10, 1804, *Claiborne's Correspondence relative to Louisiana*, Vol. I. (Bureau of Rolls and Library of the State Department, Washington, D. C.)

3—Claiborne to Madison, March 16, 1804, *Ibid.* The committee was composed of Jones, Livingston, Pigeon and Petit.

4—Claiborne to Madison, July 13, 1804, (Private), *Madison MSS.*, XXVI (Library of Congress). Also, Claiborne to Madison, July 26, 1804, *Claiborne's Correspondence relative to Louisiana*, Vol. II.

slave-trade. He did not expect any disturbance if the memorial were denied⁵.

The memorial to Congress having been duly circulated and the names attached, three agents were selected to bear it to Washington. They were Messrs. Pierre Derbigny, Jean Noel Destréhan and Pierre Sauvé. Claiborne considered Derbigny "a man of good information, and I believe of strict integrity; pleased with the principles of our Government but much attached with his native country" (France). Destréhan he characterized as "a Frenchman in politics and affection," "one of the tools of M. Laussat and greatly mortified at the cession of Louisiana to the United States." Destréhan would endeavor to be the most prominent man in the mission. Sauvé was "an able good man, a wealthy planter universally esteemed by his neighbors and will be a good citizen under our Government; but I fear he will take little part in the agency." All were warm advocates of the slave-trade⁶.

An interesting picture of the memorialists in Washington, never before printed, is given by Senator William Plumer of New Hampshire, who, with Senator Pickering of Massachusetts and others, entertained them at dinner. Plumer describes them as follows: .

They are all Frenchmen—the two first (Derbigny and Sauvé) speak our language fluently. They are all gentlemen of the first respectability in that country. Men of talents, literature and general information—men of business, and acquainted with the world. I was much gratified with their company—they had little of French frippery about them. They resemble New England men more than the Virginians.

Sauvé is the eldest—he has lived in that country 21 years. He was a merchant, but is now a planter. He had this year 150 acres of sugar cane. He has a wife and four children.

Destréhan is a native of that place but was educated in Paris. He can speak very little of our language. He has a wife and six or eight children. He has a fine promising son who has accompanied him hither. He was a merchant, but is now a planter, and has this year 200 acres of sugar cane. He says it will take 60 negroes to manage it and that his ground generally produces on an average by the acre one hoghead of sugar weighing 1200 pounds and a hoghead of molasses.

Derbigny is the youngest. He has lived in that country fourteen years, and has a family. He is a man of Science—of real talents and very general information for his age. He is very shrewd—converses with ease and great propriety.

5—Claiborne to Jefferson, October 27, 1804, *Jefferson MSS., Letters received at Washington, 2nd Series, XXIX*; also Claiborne to Madison, November 5, 1804 (Private), *Madison MSS., XXVI*.

6—Claiborne to Madison, July 13, 1804 (Private), *Madison MSS., XXVI*.

They complain in decent but firm language of the government that Congress established over them at the last session. They say nothing will satisfy that people but an elective government. That under the Spanish government they paid only six per cent duty upon their imports and exports; and the whole charge of their religion and government was then supported by the Crown. That the duties they now paid are greater than what they then paid, and are themselves beside obliged to support their religion and internal government. So that they now pay more money for public uses than when they were subjects of a royal government, and enjoy less real liberty. That Claiborne, their present governor, is unable to speak a word of French, the language that is most generally used in that country. That the proceedings in the courts of law are in a language that most of the people do not understand, that they have in many instances been convicted of breeches of laws the existence of which they were ignorant. That Claiborne is incompetent to discharge the duties of Government.

That the President had selected some very respectable men whom he has appointed members of the Legislative Council. That out of these all except three have positively declined the appointments. That no man who wishes to enjoy the friendship and esteem of the people of that country can accept of an office under the existing system of government.

They say that they have visited Mr. Jefferson—that he has not made any enquiries of them relative either to their government, or the civil or natural history of their country. That he studiously avoided conversing with them upon every subject that had relation to their mission here.

They say that the city of New Orleans is situated on the banks of the Mississippi—that those banks are from one hundred to 120 feet deep, and that a considerable part of the city is in danger of being undermined by the stream—the land being sandy. That it will require immense expense to secure the town—that they must either sink rafts covered with rocks on the bank next to the city, or cut down the bank on the opposite side of the river. That the country around the city and for a very considerable distance up the river is very good land for the width, on an average, of three quarters of a mile from the river—that beyond that distance from the river much of the land is a sunken swamp. That there is in the Country a considerable of good upland. That they speak, in common language, of mensuration by the acre, not by the mile—that is by the square side of the acre⁷.

7—William Plumer, "Memorandum of the Proceedings of Congress," December 15, 1804. For further information concerning the journal kept by Senator Plumer see my introduction to *The Senate Debate on Breckinridge Bill for the Government of Louisiana, 1804*, in *American Historical Review*, XXII, 341 (January, 1917).

The memorial was presented to the Senate on December 31, 1804, by Giles of Virginia⁸. Both houses of Congress took action and a bill much more liberal in its provisions than the Breckinridge Bill of 1804 was rushed through in the closing hours of the session and was approved by the President on March 2, 1805⁹.

Upon their return home, Derbigny, Destréhan and Sauve reported, May 2, 1805, on their experience in Washington. They admitted failure to obtain all they had asked for, and objected to the arbitrary setting of the number of inhabitants required for statehood at sixty thousand; this, however, though arbitrary, was not irrevocable. The right to initiate laws had been gained. Although the Senate was opposed, the House had been willing to grant unlimited right of self-government, an encouraging sign¹⁰.

Derbigny, Destréhan and Sauv  had not made their journey in vain, for although it was to be several years before Orleans Territory entered the Union as a State, the memorialists had obtained a promise of such an admission upon the fulfillment of certain definite conditions. In the meantime, the inhabitants were allowed more of a voice in their own political affairs than formerly.

8—For the full text of the memorial, see *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, I, 398-399; *Annals of Congress*, 8 Cong., 2 Sess. (1804-1805), Appendix, 1597-1606.

9—Text of the act in *Laws of the United States*, III, 648-650.

10—*Louisiana Gazette*, June 11, 1805, (Translated from the *Moniteur*.)

EVERETT S. BROWN.

University of California,
Department of History,
Berkeley, California.
March 9, 1917.



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**Abstracts of French and Spanish Documents Concerning the
Early History of Louisiana.**

I.

Delauze. Debts and Last Will, Oct. 17, 1717. Marine Regimental Captain de Lauze, retired from Poitou Regiment, gives instructions to Mr. Hubert, Director for Louisiana Royal Councillor and Commissary, concerning his debts and sundry bequests. Among the latter he gives a pot of butter to the Jesuit Fathers. Any residue credit shall be forwarded to his sister near St. Pierre, at Limoges. He would exchange swords with Mr. de Mandeville. (In 1712 Louisiana had been made over by charter to Antoine Crozat a capitalist and favourite at the Court of France. Bienville had previously (1710) superseded as Governor by La Mothe Cadillac. Francois Philippe de Marigny afterwards Chevalier of St. Louis, was one of the pioneer settlers of Louisiana. His family figured in the history of the colony until its cession to the United States.)

Promissory Note. "Lille" (Isle Dauphine), Feb. 7, 1714. Under-signed Poulousat acknowledged as an emergency loan from Captain DeLauze, 136 francs and promises to pay the same or have his father or mother do so in March next. (Owing to scarcity of food Bienville in 1711 had removed his garrison from Fort Louis de la Mobile to Dauphine Island.)

De Lauze Estate. Copy of inventory of estate and sale, Oct. 26, 1717. Word of Captain de Lauze's death was received by Major de Gauvrit who directed the sealing of goods and presided at the inventory, at 1 a. m., October 26, 1717. It appears in course of the proceedings that Mr. Hubert declined to serve as executor. Captain De Lauze was commissioned for service in Louisiana June 29, 1716. Sale proceedings conducted on November 3, 1717, and completed November 4th. Total realized 2577 francs. Placed with Major Gauvrit, executor.
Copied at N. O., July 2, 1725.
Copying fee and papers, 4 piastres.

De Lauze Estate. Post, October 17, 1717. La Croix, drummer, acknowledges item of 15 francs for having beaten the

drum at the auction of the late Captain De Lauze's goods. "On which I have received ten francs: I am due five francs." (Sale occurred on November 3rd and 4th, 1717. 175 pp. 11, 19.)

De Lauze. Memorandum of Account. De Lauze to Roger, 1717. Itemized list of Mr. De Lauze's debts to Mr. Roger; first entry May 10, 1717. Items include olive oil, candles, dry goods, ammunition, flour, household sundries. Total bill 1688 francs. Certified by Mr. Duval, New Orleans, Sept. 4, 1725.

De Lauze Estate Receipt. Isle Dauphine, Nov. 4, 1717. Pierre Roy to Major Gauvrit for seven francs and four sous, bequeathed by the late De Lauze.

De Lauze Estate. Memorandum of Account. Isle Dauphine, Dec. 3, 1718. Itemized lists of charges against Messrs. De Lauze & Gauvrit "for what they obtained in the store of Monsieur Crozat" (Glassware, flour, candles, soap, nails, brandy, salt, linen). Total bill 191 francs. Certified and receipted by Roger, guard of Louisiana Company's stores

De Lauze Estate Receipt. Isle Dauphine, Dec. 12, 1718. Undersigned Des Brosses to Mr. Goverit 56 francs by way of inventory fees, on account of De Lauze estate.

De Lauze Estate Receipt. Post, Oct. 17, 1717. Undersigned F. Le Maire, Apostolic Missionary Priest, acknowledges receipt of 66 francs for burial services and Mass fees on account of Infantry Captain De Lauze, from Mr. Gauverit. Note by the latter stating that Monsieur L. Maire owes nothing. Reverse data show that Monsieur Le Maire bought four pounds of pepper, a book, salt cellars and two oil cruets at the sale of De Lauze's goods; total bill being 18 francs.

(F. Le Maire, "a virtuous priest who resigned a good position at Paris. . . to come to America to announce the gospel to the Indians. . . for several years in the mission in Louisiana. . . acted as chaplain to the fort in Mobile." The Catholic church in colonial days.)

De Lauze Estate. Receipt. Isle Dauphine, Dec. 24, 1717. La Chevaliere to Major Gauvrit, three piastres for bill of washing rendered before and after death of Captain De Lauze.

De Lauze Estate. Receipt. Isle Dauphine, Feb. 10, 1718. La Douceur, signing for Bellegrade "Not knowing to write," three piastres to Major Gouvery, on account of what is due him for baking three barrels of flour in the service of Messrs. de Gouvery & De Lauze.

De Lauze Estate. Receipt. Isle Dauphine, March 10, 1718. Undersigned Le Beau to Major Gauvrit three piastres for having shaved Monsieur de Lauze during four months.

De Lauze Estate. Letter of Plaisance to Mr. Hubert. Isle Dauphine, April 8, 1718. Written for Louis de La Force, alias Plaisance, by Mr. Raguet.

Plaisance was enlisted in the company commanded by Captain De Lauze, and claims arrears of pay. Letter addressed to Monsieur Hubert, King's Councillor Commissary Director of the Province of Louisiana.

Subjoined order signed Hubert, authorizing due payment from De Lauze estate funds.

De Lauze Estate. Executor's Statement. Post, Oct. 26, 1717. Memorandum of account. De Lauze Estate. Itemized statement by Executor Mr. De Gauvrit, of the late Captain De Lauze's company debts; total 511 francs. There follows a lumped charge of 1688 francs, making aggregate accounts 2199. (Possibly the list may prove useful as early catalogue of names in Louisiana settlements.)

De Lauze Estate. Money order. Nov. 1717. Undersigned Pierre Girard asks Mr. De Gauvrit to pay Monsieur de Montigny the sum of 20 francs and 10 sous from De Lauze funds. (Year perforated, but 1717 answers to general situation.)

De Lauze Estate. Receipt. Isle Dauphine, Nov. 18, 1717. Undersigned Lindeau to Mr. De Gauvrit, 27 francs for 12 fowls furnished to the late M. De Lauze during his illness.

De Lauze Estate. Receipt. Isle Dauphine, Dec. 17, 1717. Undersigned Paquie to Major Gauvrit two piastres for making over a mattress which Madame Biazos lent to late Captain De Lauze.

De Lauze Estate. Receipt. Isle Dauphine, April 14, 1718. Sieur Thomas, to Mr. De Gauvrit, 7 francs and 4 sous for serving two days as witness of De Lauze's inventory.

De Lauze Estate. Receipt. Mobile, May 6, 1718. Undersigned Loyard, "of the Company of Jesus," eight francs from Mr. Gauvrit due from De Lauze Estate.

De Lauze Estate. Receipt. Isle Dauphine, April 24, 1718. Undersigned Bovest to Mr. De "Goury" ten francs on behalf of (late) Captain De Lauze. Receipted in full discharge.

De Lauze Estate. Fort Louis, August 9, 1718. Undersigned Quenot to M. De Gauvrit seven francs for goods delivered to late "Mr." De Lauze. This receipt shall also cover a larger debt.

De Lauze Estate. Isle Dauphine, Nov. 20, 1718. Tourangeau, valet of late Captain De Lauze, to M. Gauvrit 100 francs by way of bequest in late Captain's will.

De Lauze Estate. Power of Attorney. Limoges, Sept. 8, 1722. Demoiselle Leonarde De Lauze, wife of Sieur Balthazar Vaureix, to M. Joseph Sulpice Le Blond de Latour, for collecting her inheritance, as bequeathed by her deceased brother, Joseph De Lauze, from Monsieur de Gauvrit, "Captain of Marine Detachment at New Orleans in the 'Miscipi' Province Louisiana."

Cattle Dispute Settled Amicably. Mobile, January 16, 1720. Dominique Belsaguy, guardian of La Loire wards together with Surgeon Major Manades, husband of a daughter of La Loire and Claude Jousset La Loire son of late La Loire, make friendly settlement with Messrs. Gauvrit & Zacharie Drapeau with regard to two cows that had been killed. M. Belsaguy will pay 20 piastres in specie to each of the contestants. Signatures: P. Manades, Souses, Drapeau, Raguet. (Belsaguy could not write.)

Court Martial Sentence. New Orleans, Feb. 23, 1720. Prisoner Jean Baptiste Pochet of De Gauvrit's company is convicted of robbery and sentenced to be whipped by a negro three days and to serve three years as convict. His clothes shall be confiscated, subject to abatement of 50 francs fine. Thomas Bachu alias La Rose is discharged and freed for want of evidence against him. Signatures: Portier, Sevigny, Decoublant, Namere, Chevalier, Dupuy, De Beaumenil.

Sale of Property. New Orleans, Mar. 1, 1721. Francois Duyand, chief clerk of Company of Indies at Mobile (just now at N. O.) conveys a staked lot with timber buildings along the Mississippi road, to Francois Duval guard of Company stores at N. O. for 1200 francs cash, one room with a fire place, adjoining kitchen and store room. A good garden fronting on the Mississippi. Witnessed by P. Auber, Darbonne, Rossard.

Contract of Hired Servant. Fort St. Louis, Nov. 28, 1719. Francois Hupé agrees to serve M. Franconis for one year from date in consideration of 100 francs (in advance) if need be), plus board in the French manner, four

shirts and lodgment. Engagement may cease after six months if either party so choose; payment then in proportion. Signatures also include Rochon, Deschanel, Raguet.

(In 1717 Crozat was relieved of his charter and Louisiana by another charter was made over to the Company of the West and of the Indies, presided over by John Law. In 1718, Bienville was reinstated as Governor. Owing to his exertions his scheme of founding a city on the bank of the Mississippi was accomplished in 1718, when he with a corps of engineers under de la Tour, laid out New Orleans on the spot he had chosen years before. It was made the capital of the Province.

Grant of Land. Petition for grant of land, N. O., May 26, 1721. Undersigned Le Blanc beseeches the Directors General of Louisiana to cede to him a lot of ground adjoining the property of M. Dupuy, on the Mississippi and beyond the property of M. Caustillos. M. Le Blanc is custodian of stores at New Orleans and means to cultivate the grant assiduously. Conceded 12 acres of the desired territory June 19, 1721. Signed Bienville, Biloxi. Registered, April 9, 1723.

(Monseigneur le Blanc, *Secretary of State*, according to Martin, figured on the census table of the province for 1722, as owner of three important concessions, in the vicinity of New Orleans; one at the Tchoupitoulas three leagues above the City; one at two leagues above the City; and one seven leagues below the City at the Chouachas.)

Arbitration Verdict Accepted. N. O., July 30, 1722. Messrs. Guenot de Trefontaine and Jean Baptiste Massy acting too for their former partner Pierre Guenot and also M. Pierre Ceard, director on behalf of a certain Ste Renne grant belonging to Messrs. Lioly & Co., ratify an arbitration sentence reached by Messrs. DuBuisson & Treboul on July 29, witnessed by Duflos, Huer, and Rossard, Notary.

(The Ste Renne grant under the Louisiana charter, was at the Tunicas, a site on the Mississippi above Baton Rouge.)

Criminal Trial. Nov. 17, 1722. Examination of one Laborde on charge of assassinating one Pontuel. Answers that he shot Pontuel to avoid being shot by the latter, already aiming. Hearing conducted by Councillor Suillet.

Receipt Fort St. Louis, March 3, 1722. Masclary has received of the Abbe d'Arquevaud the sum of 330

francs in notes full payment of a negro (male) child; the same being ceded to him by M. Du Vergier. Collated at New Orleans, October 8, 1727. Receipted on behalf of M. St. Martin, absent.

Will.

Will of Abbe d'Arquevaux, Yazoo Post, August 11, 1722. Drawn up before Jean Claude Juif, Chaplain at the Yazoo Post. Principal legatee Madame Veuve Millon because of her good care of him. Other provisos in case of her departure for France. bequests to sundry other persons. Executor Chaplain Juif. Desires to be buried in front of Yazoo Fort, near the cross and also near the grave of former local commander, M. Bizard.

Witnessed under date of August 15, 1722. Filed at N. O., May 28, 1723, by M. Desfontaine, then director of the LeBlanc grant.

Attorney General vs. Pasquier, Feb. 11, 1722. Decision contingent on examination of Sieur Malon before M. Fazende, regarding motives of seizure in question. Costs reserved. Signed: Bienville, Brusle, Fazende, Perry. Erroneous marginal date, 1729.

Will Confirmed. N. O., Feb. 22, 1723. In suit between Francois Trudeau, guardian of Jeanne Dardenne, the legatee of her uncle Louis Burel and Claude Lepannier, her uncle and surrogate guardian the Council confirms the will of deceased Louis Burel. Agreeably to its provisos 1000 francs shall be applied to the support of testator's daughter. Heard before Councillor Antoine Brusle. Costs divided.

Criminal Trial. N. O., Dec. 23, 1722. Further hearing of Laborde. He relates past conflict with Pontuel and repeats the motive of self defense. Hearing conducted by Councillor Arnould Bonnaud.

Petition. N. O., March 23; April 3, 1723. Undersigned LeBlanc observing that M. Duvergier has duly surveyed his land and M. Dupuy's, whose bounds are placed, beseeches the Commander and the Director General of the Province to verify these landmarks in order to avoid future disputes. Council ratifies bounds marked by M. Duvergier, at N. O., April 3, 1723. Signatures of Bienville and other Councillors.

Lease of Estate for Farming. N. O., May 14, 1723. Francois Trudeau, guardian of Jeanne Dardenne reports that he has assembled her kindred and friends (duly named) with reference to farming some land of hers along the Mississippi, including negroes and horses, and that the lease has been formally award-

ed to Jean Laprade for three years. Two-thirds of the profits shall accrue to Jeanne.

Petition for Building Site. April 3, 1723. Pierre Mousel, Company carpenter asks for a lot on which to build a house. "He will pray God for your healths and prosperities." Council allows him site 208 and refers him to M. De Boispinel, Royal Engineer, for boundary details. House must stand on line with street; lot shall be cleared and fenced with stakes and stumps cut away as far as half the width of street within three months. Signatures of Bienville, LeBlond de la Tour, and Estienne. Mouzel sold the same lot to Joseph de Cornet, June 30, 1723. Registered Dec. 29, 1723.

Criminal Trial. N. O., May 20, 1723. Marie Simon Lespronne aged 12, native of Caux, is examined on charge of "wholesale" theft of linen goods. She answers that she stole in obedience to her stepmother, wife of a brewer *Yans* (Jans). Case continued and other parties to be heard. (Court instructions nearly effaced.)

Criminal Trial. N. O., May 22, 1723. Examination of Madame Jans, stepmother of Marie Simon Lespronne, formerly resident of Biloxi. Disclaims complicity in all its phases.

Criminal Trial Adjourned. N. O., May 21, 1723. Seeing that Madame Jans is now nursing an infant, the appointed hearing of the parties supposed to be concerned in larcenies charged to Marie Simon Lespronne is postponed.

Criminal Trial. (Larceny case.) N. O., May 22, 1723. Examination of Marie Rousseau, wife of Georges Ramond, steward and indigo planter of Monsieur de Bienville; also coppersmith by trade. Disclaims knowledge and all complicity as regards larcenies charged to Marie Simon Lespronne.

Cattle Plunder Reported. N. O., May 24, 1723. M. Antoine Rivard alias La Vigne, of Bayou St. Jean, Lodges complaint on account of two runaway Indians belonging to M. Coustillas. They have been killing and eating a number of cattle in the vicinity of said Bayou Chaptoulas, and other surrounding parts these five months past, in decided prejudice to the colonial establishment.

Procedure Moved. N. O., May 22, 1723. Attorney General Fleuriaux moves inquiry in regard to nocturnal robbery on the premises of Mr. Gaspard.

Testimony Ordered. N. O., May 24, 1723. Councillor Brusle provides for hearing of witnesses in accord with motion made by the Attorney General.

Criminal Procedure. May, 25, 1723. Examination of witnesses in connection with nocturnal robbery at Mr. Gaspard's. The stolen goods were found in a boat of Mr. Lagarde's and the negro in charge of it (Mr. Ribieux, being master of same) professes to have received the goods from a negro of the Company.

Criminal Procedure. N. O., May 28, 1723. Chief Warehouse Guard Armand Bonnaud asks the Superior Council to institute inquiry over a complaint which he filed in the recorder's office "today."

Criminal Procedure. N. O., May 28, 1723. Mr. Bonnaud lodges complaint against one Le Roux for violating the decrees against wanton shooting of cattle. The accused shot a cow of Mr. Bonnaud's, and the loss is both personal and public; public, as demoralizing the Colony's order.

Criminal Procedure. N. O., May 29, 1723. Inquiry conducted before Commander General Monsieur de Bienville, President of Superior Council, in response to complaint of Mr. Bonnaud. First witness Francois Trudeau, aged 8 or 9 years, had gone for blackberries in the Bayou quarter, on the feast of Corpus Christi. Perceived an unknown man shoot at a black and white cow. Further testimony to like effect. Signature of Bienville.

Memorandum of Goods. N. O., June 7, 1723. Mr. Gerard Pellerin, guard of Company stores at N. O. makes formal declaration concerning a consignment of goods in his charge; the same being seized from estate of Mr. Kolly, contents included wine, flour, brandy and other articles belonging to said estate. (The Kolly concession by the Company of the West was at the "Tchoupitoulas" three miles above N. O.)

Petition for Legal Action. July 14, 1723. Joseph Chapron beseeches permission to inform against certain par- in connection with burglary at his house.

Summons of Witnesses. July 14, 1723. Sheriff Charles de la Moriniere, serves notice on Messrs Barre, Dupuy, Aubachon and Cernay (elsewhere given Remond, Brosse, alias Cernay) to appear on the morrow at 8 a. m. in the Council chamber, concerning the charges lodged by Chapron.

Letter on Foiled Plot. July 29, 1723. Commander de Loubois writes to Monsieur de Bienville concerning the timely discovered plot of *Caron* and others. The ring-leaders are sent under guard to N. O. Not all the plotters have been seized, as there are no prison quarters to hold them.

(M. de Loubois, Chev. of St. Louis, was commandant at Fort Louis, Biloxi. His garrison, as the other posts in Louisiana, suffered from desertion of soldiers to the English.)

Financial Motion. N. O., July 12, 1723. Mr. Bru, Colonial cashier, has issued sight bonds to accommodate borrowers. Most of these have been slow to negotiate the bonds at the treasury, whether in mercantile notes or in copper. Others are circulating the bonds on the market. Let the Council correct such irregularity by requiring the bonds to be turned in for equivalent in trade notes or in copper coin. The bonds were issued on Sept. 1, 1722 subject to presentation six or eight days later. The Cashier wishes to balance his accounts in August.

Robbery Reported. July 13, 1723. Joseph Chapron lodges complaint over the robbery of specified goods and money at his plantation on past May 28 or 29. Cash included 40 francs in copper. He has lighted on a trail of the stolen property and requests investigation. Presumed culprit LeRoy, a locksmith and his wife, a negress.

(Evidently a slander. Marriage between whites and negroes was not sanctioned by the church, nor permitted by the government in Louisiana.)

Marine Abduction. Foiled. Biloxi, (Fort Louis), July 29, 1723. Examination of Guillaume Guiton in regard to a reported plot of one *Caron* and others to make off with long boat *Ste. Elizabeth* and a launch commanded by Pierre Daumale, to *Carolina*. Case conducted by Jean Bernard Verchurs de Terrepuy, acting Crown Attorney. Madame Caron is also implicated.

Marine Abduction Plot. Fort Louis, (Biloxi), July 29, 1723. Hearing of Marin (La Fontaine) aged about 18, native of Versailles, a soldier in the company of Commander Louboy. Admits complicity in the plot, at instance of Madame Caron. Nine or ten soldiers ready to take part; the flight was planned for July 28.

Letter Signed Bienville. N. O., August 3, 1723. Advising *Monsieur de Fleuriaux* of transmission of papers from Commander de Loubois.

(The Superior Council held its sessions now in New Orleans. Fleuriaux had become Attorney General.)

Letter Signed Bienville. N. O., August 4, 1723. Recommending despatch of provisions by dugout of post officer de Therisse, for the Yazoo post. Monsieur de Bienville would have attended to the business himself, but was prevented by an attack of "gripes" last night.

(After the failure of the Company of the West, 1721, and the bankruptcy of Law, Louisiana had reverted to the Crown of France. It was divided in 9 civil districts (one of them the Yazoo) and three ecclesiastical, the Capuchins, Carmelites and Jesuits.)

Copy of Will of Jacques Le Severre. August 7, 1723. Under-signed *Etienne Boves*, joiner and Dupont soldier of the Natchitoches detachment, certify that they heard Jacques Le Severre, of Brest, declare it in the great warehouse hospital, that he willed 100 francs to the Capuchins for prayers in his behalf; and let his residue funds be sent to his wife and children at Brest. Subjoined note by *Duval* Dec. 12, 1724, stating that he holds the original along with Le Severre account.

Tixerrant vs. Laurenceau. August 14, 1723. Suit of recovery. Plaintiff moves to recover property which he sold to defendant, now removed to Avoyelles, after protest of draft on him for 3727 francs. Item, let plaintiff have recourse to Laurenceau's partner LaCroix at Natchez for enjoinder of this year's crop. Council allows attachment of Laurenceau's goods and also of this year's crop to the extent of L's. share. Action further allowed against all concerned until satisfaction be reached. Notice served on Mr. LaCroix at Natchez, on Sept. 28, 1723.

(Avoyelles (dim: of *avoie*, small viper) one of the tribes living near the mouth of Red River within what is now Avoyelles Parish, La.)

Testimony Received. Biloxi (Fort Louis), August 17, 1723. Examination of Pierre Chouvin fifer in Commander de Loubois company, witnessing against Caron, company baker and Millat. Caron's wife tried, but in vain, to engage witness in the plot.

Testimony Received. (Fort Louis), Biloxi, August 17, 1723. Examination of Jean Daniel, *alias*, St. Jean soldier of Commander Loubois' company, concerning de-

sertion plot. He was enticed by Millet to join it, but refrained.

Testimony on Desertion Plot. N. O., Sept. 22, 1723. Examination of Marin La Fontaine. Was afraid to report the matter to his captain, but asked Guitton to do so.

Sentence Against Dog and Cat Butcher. Sept. 10, 1723. On testimony of eight inmates of the Hospital to the effect that one Villeneuve workman of *Messieurs the Engineers*, killed a number of dogs and furnished dog meat to the Hospital (supplied plenty of roast dog, says one of the witnesses) the Council condemns Villeneuve to be paraded and then set for two hours on the "wooden horse", bearing a "sandwich," placarded inscribed in large letters, "Eater of dogs and cats"; (and wearing a cat about his neck if one be found) was the recommendation of Attorney General Fleuriau. Signatures of Bienville and other Councillors.

(The first record of a hospital in Louisiana, Charity Hospital of New Orleans, was founded in 1734.

Petition of Recovery. Sept. 15, 1723; April 19, 1724. Louis Richard, Canadian, seeks to collect from Jean Bordier 14 barrels of wheat due on some stakes furnished by L. P. (now at N. P.) to J. B. Action allowed.

Testimony in Desertion Plot. N. O., Sept. 22, 1723. Examination of Francoic Milliat (so signed) aged 55, native of Nogent sur Aube and usually resident at Biloxi Denies complicity with Caron, and professes ignorance of plot.

Testimony on Desertion Plot. N. O., Sept. 22, 1723. Examination of Jean Caron, baker, native of Peronne in Picardy, aged 25 and usually resident at Biloxi. Professes ignorance of plot and makes denial of all charges.

Court Order for Summons of Witnesses. Sept. 23, 1723. Councillor Fazende authorizes notification of witnesses for session of the morrow morning.

Summons of Witnesses. N. O., Sept. 24, 1723. Sheriff la Moriniere notifies Jean Daniel, *alias* St. Jean, and Pierre Chauvin, *alias* St. Pierre, to appear at 2 p. m. for hearing in regard to the recent plot at Biloxi.

Testimony on Desertion Plot. N. O., Sept. 24, 1723. Examination of Pierre Chauvin, *alias* St. Pierre, aged 18, also of Jean Daniel, aged 25. Chauvin went to buy bread at Caron's and was asked by Madame Caron

to take part in the proposed desertion. Jean D. was accosted on the same subject by Milliat.

Testimony on Desertion Plot. N. O., Sept. 24, 1723. Examination of Madame Caron. She denied all part in alleged plot.

Testimony on Desertion Plot. N. O., Sept. 25, 1723. Further hearing of Jean Caron, who persists in his denials and disclaims all thought of plotting.

Testimony of Desertion Plot. N. O., 25, 1723. Further hearing of Francois Milliat, cook by trade. Persists in denying all part in plot. Attorney General orders review of testimony and confronting of witnesses with parties accused. (Ragged edges.)

Testimony in Review. N. O., Sept. 25, 1723. Sundry witnesses heard in confirmation of previous evidence against Caron and his wife and their supposed fellow plotters.

Confronting Process in Desertion Plot. N. O., Sept. 25, 1723. Madame Caron brought in by armed escort is confronted with Pierre Chauvin, *alias* St. Pierre, and Francois Milliat with Jean Daniel, *alias* St. Jean. Madame denies the charges of Chauvin, and Milliat those of Jean D. Further procedure ordered.

Confronting Process. N. O., Sept. 26, 1723. Madame Caron being confronted with Marin La Fontaine denies having spoken of any plot to him. He persists in the contrary statement.

Testimony in Desertion Plot. N. O., Sept. 30, 1723. Guillaume Guiton examined in review neither augments nor abates his previous statement.

Confronting Process in Desertion Plot. N. O., Sept. 30, 1723. Madame Caron denies the accusation by Guillaume Guiton. Contradiction as well between Guiton and La Fontaine.

Testimony in Alleged Plot. N. O., Sept. 30, 1723. Examination of witness Antoine Avenelle. He professes ignorance of any plot, refuses to credit witnesses who allege one and is willing to believe Caron and his wife.

Testimony of Alleged Plot. N. O., Sept. 30, 1723. Examination once again of Guillaume Guiton (Guitton). Repeats details of a proposed flight to Carolina; chief parties being Caron and wife, Milliat, Avenelle and three carpenters of the Company. Implicated La Fontaine, and quotes the latter as reporting 10 or 11 soldiers ready to take part.

Capital Sentence for Murder. N. O., Oct. 1, 1723. A negro belonging to M. Delery is condemned to be strangled for murder of his wife. He shall first be baptized. M. Delery is entitled to compensation. Memorandum stating delay of execution till the morrow, because the gallows were not in readiness yesterday. (M. De Lery was one of the three Chauvin brothers; Chauvin de Lery, Chauvin de Lafreniere, Chauvin de Beaulieu. They came from Canada and became distinguished in the financial and commercial records of the time. Lafreniere, son of the former was executed by O'Reilly as the leader of the insurrection against Ulloa.)

Testimony in Desertion Plot. N. O., Oct. 9, 1723. Renewed examination of Francois Milliat this time by *questioning* process. He received his knowledge of the projected desertion from Caron's wife, not from Caron. They were to abduct Daumale's launch and escape "to the English." Reports that St. Jean turned away from the suggestion of joining the plotters.

Petition for Legal Counsel. Oct. 10, 1723. Caron and his wife accused of plotting desertion urge the injustice of procedure in which those accused have no formal defense on their side. They lay the alleged mischief to Guiton and request appointment of counsel in behalf; also naming witnesses who can serve their cause.

"Desertion Plot" Resumed. N. O., Oct. 11, 1723. Examination of Jean Caron with reference to alleged plot. All charges denied.

NOTES

Louisiana Data Recently Acquired by the United States Congressional Library.

In the Report of the Librarian of Congress for 1916 the following items are interesting to students of Louisiana history.

The Division of manuscripts reports the acquisition of the BEAUREGARD LETTER BOOKS AND PAPERS of which a description is given on page 46, on which it is noted that the papers of Judge Roman were acquired in 1915. It also reports the receipt of 7000 transcripts from the French Archives Nationales, being correspondence between Home Officers and Colonial Officials of Louisiana, chiefly with Bienville from 1731 to 1751, also 10,000 pages of Spanish transcripts from the Archives of the Indies at Seville.

The Division of Maps and Charts reports the acquisition of a great number of atlases containing separate and included maps of Louisiana of earlier dates. Among the separate maps accessioned were a large colored map of New Orleans in manuscript, a view of New Orleans in 1852 published by D. W. Moody, drawn by Hill and Smith, a map of the State of Louisiana in 1838 by Catesby Graham, the Territory of Orleans 1805 by B. Lafon. This report notes maps which have been found in other libraries and of which efforts will be made to procure photographic copies for the Department.

Fleuve St. Louis ci-devant Mississippi releve.....par le sieur Diron l'an 1719, depuis la Nouvelle-Orleans.....jusqu'au village Cahokia. Original in Bibliotheque nationale, Paris.

Carte nouvelle et tres exacte d'une partie de la Louisiane et de l'isle de Cuba en 1718. Original in Depart. de la marine, Paris.

Carte du golfe de Mexique et des isles de Barlovento.....par Juan las Caiz a la Vera Cruz, 1718. Original in Depart. de la marine, Paris.

Parie de la coste de la Floride ou se trouve l'embouchure de la riviere de Mississippi.....Paris, Moullart-Sanson, 1719. Original in Biblio. nationale, Paris.

Carte de la cote de la Louisiane depuis l'embouchure du Miss. jusqu'a la baye de S. Joseph, 1719-1720. Original in Depart. de la marine, Paris.

- Carte nouvelle de la partie de l'ouest de la province de la Louisiane. sur les observations et decouvertes du sieur Benard de la Harpe, 1720. Original in Depart. de la marine, Paris.
- Carte de la coste de la Louisiane depuis la baye de St. Louis.....jusqu'a celle de St. Joseph, 1719-1720, par Devin. Original in Biblio, nationale, Paris.
- Carte reduite des isles de l'Amerique it du golfe du Mexeque.....par Philippe Buache, 1724. Original in Depart. de la marine, Paris.
- Map of East and West Florida.....par Charles Cloard, 1739. Original in Depart. de la marine, Paris.
- Plan de la partie de la province de la Louisiane.....(1762.) Original in Depart. de la marine, Paris.
- Carte du Golfe du Mexique et des Antilles, 1696. Juan Bisente. Original in Depart. de la marine, Paris.
- Plan de la cote et des environs du Mississippi, 1699. Original in Depart. de la marine, Paris.
- Carte de la cote et des environs du fleuve Mississippi, 1699. Original in Depart. de la marine, Paris.
- Partie de l'Amerique septentrionale ou est comprise la Nouvelle France.,par Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin. 1699. Original in Depart. de la marine, Paris.

In the general list of accessions are named a New Orleans tax receipt of 1840 and portions of four bills issued by the Parish of St. Tammany as money in 1862.

P. 220 Louisiana: John de Neufville & Sons, circular letter to the merchants of the United States with list of prices current in Amsterdam, 1783, Feb.; Particulars of affairs at New Orleans, 1862, April.

The Periodical Division reports the acquisition of the following Southern newspapers of the Civil War Period.

New Orleans True Delta, February 9, 1864.

Opelousas Courier, April 25, 1863, (printed on wall paper.)

WILLIAM BEER.

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Annual Report of the American Historical Association.

The recently issued first volume of the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1914, contains the following note of interest to the members of the Historical Society.

On page 69, the American Historical Association at its meeeting November 28, 1914, reports the receipts of invitation to send delegates to the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans under the auspices of the Louisiana Historical Society.

In the Report of Work in 1914 on catalogue of documents in

French Archives relating to the History of Mississippi Valley for which work the Louisiana Historical Society contributed \$200, Mr. Leland reports:

"In the Colonial Archives the most important work has been the searching of the series for Martinique and Santo Domingo. Some 226 volumes have been examined, and the work is being continued to include the series for all the French West Indies. They contain a considerable amount of material relating to commerce with Louisiana, to the supply of provisions, to vessels bound to or from Louisiana and putting in at Santo Domingo, etc. There have also been listed the contents of five cartons which serve as a supplement to the main series for Louisiana. Nearly every one of these documents, of which there are over 500, is very valuable."

"In the National Archives, properly speaking, there have been found a number of edicts relating to Louisiana, as well as many documents relating to negotiations under the Directory touching on Louisiana. All the American maps in the National Archives have also been listed—most of them cover, in part at least, the Mississippi Valley."

"It should be understood that the work has been performed in conjunction with my work for the Carnegie Institution—a fact which has made it possible to cover far more ground than could have been done had the Mississippi Valley research been made a distinct and separate undertaking."

WM. BEER.

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Some Rare Louisiana Historic Data.

It may not be uninteresting to readers of this Quarterly to note the following rare piece of Louisiana history showing the interest of England at that early period in the developments of the colonization of America by the French. It occurs in Catalogue 21 of R. H. Dodd of New York, issued in November, 1916, it is probably unique.

LOUISIANA. CROZAT. A LETTER TO A MEMBER of the P...T. of G...t B...n, Occasioned by the Privilege granted by the French King to Mr. Crozat. Small 4 to, full crushed levant morocco. \$275.00.

London, Printed for J. Baker, 1713.

Very rare and undescribed by bibliographers.

The Letters Patent granted by Louis XIV to Crozat in September, 1712, were of the widest character. The grant was, it may be said, the first attempt to develop the great central region of the United States. His ships could only trade with all "Louisiana"

which is described as "bounded by New Mexico, and by the Lands of the English Carolina. . . . the River St. Lewis heretofore called Mississippi, from the edge of the Sea as far as the Illinois; together with the River of St. Philip heretofore called the Missourys, and of St. Jerome, heretofore called Ouabache, with all the Countries, Territories, Lakes, within Land, and the Rivers which fall directly into that Part of the River of St. Lewis."

This is the first edition in English of the Patent. It was reprinted the next year in Joutel's "*Account of La Salle's Last Voyage*," 1714. The comment here given, some thirty pages, seems to be nowhere else printed.



